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THE HISTORY OF INDIA

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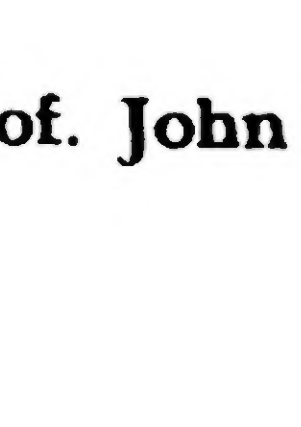
THE HISTORY OF INDIA

As Told By Its Own Historians

THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS
OF THE LATE
SIR H. M. ELLIOT

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

The eighth volume of the original edition of this work contained seventy-one articles, of which forty-three have already been printed in the two previous volumes of these *Studies*. In this volume we reprint the rest twenty-eight articles from the same volume and two entitled "The Hindu Kings of Kabul" and "Two Classes of Moslem Coins" from the second volume of the original edition.

Tarikh-i Muzaffari and *'Imadu-s Sa'adat* were translated by the Editor and *Nigar-nama-i Hind* was done by Major Fuller. The Editor failed to ascertain the names of the translators of other articles.

The Note on the Hindu Kings of Kabul is the work of Sir H. M. Elliot and that on two classes of Moslem coins, an extract from Thomas' *Prinsep*, was prepared by John Dowson.

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STUDIES IN INDIAN HISTORY
Part IV

SAHIHU-L AKHBAR
OF
SARUP CHAND

THIS is a general history of India, compiled in 1209 A.H. (1794-5 A.D.), by Sarup Chand Khatri. Although written by a Hindu, the work opens as if composed by a devout Musulman, with praise to God, the Prophet Muhammad, and all his family and companions. The author gives the following explanation of his reasons for undertaking the task; from which it will be seen how history was made subservient to the controversies which raged among our officials at that time.

"It is owing to the curiosity and perseverance of the English that the tree of knowledge is planted anew in this country; and it is also to the inquisitive spirit of that people, and particularly to the zeal and liberality of Sir John Shore, Governor-General of India, that I, an old servant of the State, am favoured with the honour of compiling a work on the History of the Hindus together with an explanation of the names of days, months, years and eras; the reigns of the Kings of Dehli, with an explanation of the words *raja, zamindar, chaudhari, ta'alluk-dar, hawalwar,* and the mode of administration, both ancient and modern, together with the names of the *subadars* of Bengal and the revenue and political affairs of the province."

His definition of these revenue terms is fair and impartial, as will be seen from the extract given below. The author enters upon the question of the frauds practised upon our Government after the first acquisition of Bengal, and if his authority could have had any weight amongst India statesmen of his time, we should have been spared the introduction of the Permanent Settlement into Bengal, the most precipitate and sucidial measure recorded in the annals of legislation.

The author quotes several authorities for his historical narrative, and amongst them some which are not procurable in these days, as the history of Mahmud Sabuktigin, by 'Unsuri; the histories of Sultan Bahlol and Sher Shah, both by Husain Khan Afghan; *Tarikh-i Firoz Shahi,* by Maulana 'Izzu-d din Khalid-khani; *Tarikh-i I'rij,* by Khwaja Nazimu-d din Ahmad; *Tarikh-i Akbar Shahi,* by Mirza 'Ata Beg Khazwini; *Tuhfat-i Akbar Shahi,* by Shaikh 'Abbas bin Shaikh 'Ali Shirwani; the history of Sadr-i Jahan Gujarati; the history of Haji Muhammad Kandhari and the history of Munawwar Khan. I think it not improbable that the author never saw one of these works here quoted, and that he mentions most of them at second hand, on the authority of the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh,* which, as usual in such cases, is itself not mentioned. The *Sahihu-l Akhbar* carries the history down to the author's own period, but I have kept no record of its divisions, contenting myself with taking a few extracts while the manuscript was in my possession.

The only copy I have seen of this work was in the possession of Conolly, a clerk in the Office at the Board of Revenue at Agra; and since his death, notwithstanding all my inquiries, I have not been able to procure it again.

EXTRACT

Persons appointed by a Raja as *tahsildars,* or revenue collectors of two or three *parganas,* were called *chaudharis.* The superior class of *byoparis,* or tradesmen, were called *mahajans,* or *banjaras;* and among the *sarrafs,* or bankers, those who were wealthiest were called *seths.* The heads of all classes of trades and professions were termed *chaudharis.*

From the time of the establishment of the Emperor's power in India those persons who paid revenue to the Government were called *zamindars.* According to some writers, those who were held responsible to Government for the revenue of several villages or a *pargana* were

called *zimmadars*, which word afterwards was corrupted into *zamindar*. However, in the time of the Emperor Akbar, all old *malguzars* were put down in the Government records as *zamindars* or *ta'allukdars*.

The office of *chaudhari* was at the disposal of the governors, and any person on whom it was conferred by them was designated a *chaudhari*. No person had a hereditary right to this office.

The term *ta'allukdar* is peculiar to Bengal, and is not known elsewhere. In the time of the Emperors, any person who had been from of old a proprietor of several *parganas* was designated a *zamindar*, and the proprietors of one or two villages were written down in the records as *ta'allukdars*. When a *pargana* first began to be brought under cultivation and inhabited, those, who by their own labour cut down the forest in a tract of land, and populated it, were distinguished by the title of *ta'allukdar jangal buri;* and formerly, amongst the higher class of *raiyats*, those who paid to the Government a revenue of 500 rupees, or beyond it up to 1000 rupees, or those who, like *patwaris*, collected the revenue of one or two villages, or two or four small circuits, were considered by the Government as holding the office of a revenue collector, and were termed *ta'allukdars*. During the reigns of the former Emperors nothing like a durable settlement of land revenue was made for a period of 370 years, because in those days their rule was not firmly established in the country.

In the time of Akbar, all the districts, large and small, were easily occupied and measured. The land was methodically divided, and the revenue of each portion paid. Each division, whether large or small, was called a *ta'alluka*, and its proprietor a *ta'allukdar*. If in one *pargana* the names of several persons were entered in the Government record as *ta'allukdars*, they were called *taksimi ta'allukdars*, or *mazkuri ta'allukdars*. From the time of Farrukh Siyar, affairs were mismanaged in all the provinces, and no control was maintained

over the Government officials, or the *zamindars*. All classes of Government officers were addicated to extortion and corruption, and the whole former system of regularity and order was subverted.

TARIKH-I MUZAFFARI
OF
MUHAMMAD 'ALI KHAN

This is one of the most accurate General Histories of India which I know. It commences with the Muhammadan Emperors of India, but does not treat of them at any length till it reaches the reign of Akbar. The History of the later Empire is particularly full, and would be worth translating had it not been anticipated by the *Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin*. The author was Muhammad 'Ali Khan Ansari, son of Hidayatu-llah Khan, son of Shamsu-d daula Lutfu-llah Khan, who enjoyed high offices under Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah. The author was himself *darogha* of the *Faujdari 'Adalat* of Tirhut and Hajipur. He appears to have held much communication with the European officers of his time. The work was composed about 1800 A.D., and the history is brought down to the death of Asafu-d daula in 1797. [This work is the principal authority relied upon by Keene in his recent work, *The Fall of the Moghul Empire*, and he states that the name of the book is derived from the title "Muzaffar Jang," borne by "Nawab Muhammad Riza Khan, so famous in the history of Bengal." "Some of" the author's "descendants are still living at Panipat."]

[The following Extracts have been translated by the Editor from a poor copy, apparently made expressly for Sir H. M. Elliot. Size 9 in. by 6, containing 1005 pages of 15 lines each. The original copy from which it was taken is described as Folio, 246 pages of 24 lines each.]

EXTRACTS

Revenues of Muhammad Shah

[(*The account tallies exactly with that given in another volume excepting only the following item, and that the word pargana is substituted for mahal throughout*:) Suba of Thatta, 4 *sarkars*, 57 *parganas*, 74,976,900 *dams*.

Murder of Nawab Bahadur the Eunuch Jawed

The great advancement of the eunuch Jawed, and the power he had acquired in the government of the State, gave great offence to Waziru-l Mamalik Abu-l Mansur Khan Safdar Jang, and led him to form a plot against the Nawab. He first called to his side Suraj Mal Jat with his army, and then sent re-assuring and soothing messages to the Nawab Bahadur. Having thus thrown him off his guard, Safdar Jang invited him to banquet. Safdar Jang placed a number of his trusty men on the watch in the palace of Dara Shukoh, and having posted two hundred men inside and outside the palace, he sat down in great state to await the arrival of his guest. . . . When the Nawab arrived, Safdar Jang advanced to receive him with ceremony and (apparent) cordiality. After the meal was over, he gave his hand to his guest, and conducted him into a private room to talk over State affairs. They had not said much before Safdar Jang assumed a tone of asperity; but before he became heated, he moved to go into his private apartments. Thereupon, 'Ali Beg Khan and some other Mughal officers came out, despatched the Nawab with their daggers and swords, and having cut off his head, threw it outside. The Nawab's attendants, on beholding this, took the alarm and fled, and the idlers and vagabonds of the city fell upon his equipage and plundered it.

Death of Ghaziu-d din Asaf Jah Nizamu-l Mulk

In the month of Sha'ban, Amiru-l umara Ghaziu-d din Khan left his son, Shahabu-d din Muhammad Khan, as his deputy in the office of Mir Bakhshi, and proceeded

towards the Dakhin, taking with him Malhar Rao, on the promise of paying him money upon his arrival at home. He reached Aurangabad at the end of Zi-l ka'da. When intelligence of his arrival reached Haidarabad, Salabat Jang, third son of (the late) Asaf Jah, marched out with a great force to oppose his elder brother. Malhar Rao, being informed of these designs, and seeing that war between the two brothers was imminent, took the opportunity of asking for Khandesh and Khanpur, which were old dependencies of Aurangabad. He foresaw that the struggle with Salabat Jang would be severe, and he deemed it prudent to refrain from taking any part in it, because the officials of the Dakhin were in favour of the succession of Salabat Jang. No fighting had taken place between the rivals, when Amiru-l umara (Ghaziu-d din) died. His adherents, among whom was Muhammad Ibrahim Khan, uncle of the author of this work, carried his coffin to Dehli. They also carried with them his money and valuables, exceeding a *kror* of rupees in amount, and delivered them over to his son Shahabu-d din Muhammad Khan. This young man, whenever his late father was absent, had deemed it best for his interests to be constant in his attentions to Safdar Jang, and by this conduct he had gained the favour of that minister, who showed him great kindness. When the intelligence of his father's death arrived, he communicated the fact to Safdar Jang before it was generally known, and from that day the minister called him his adopted son. By the minister's influence, he was appointed *Mir Bakhshi*, and received the title of *Amiru-l umara Ghaziu-d din Khan 'Imadu-l Mulk*. . . .

After the murder of Nawab Bahadur, the Emperor (Ahmad Shah) felt great aversion for Safdar Jang, and extended his favour to Intizamu-d daula,[1] who, in consequence of the regulations established by Safdar Jang inside and outside of the palace, had ceased for some

[1][*Son of the late Kamru-d din.*]

time to go to the *darbar*. One day the Emperor observed that Safdar Jang held the great offices of *diwan-i kull* and *wazir*, and that the post of superintendent of the *ghusl-khana*, and of the royal arsenal, with other less offices, might be left for others. From that day great apprehension filled the mind of Safdar Jang, and he set himself either to win over Intizamu-d daula or to remove him out of the way.[2]

Ya'kub Khan, son of that Haidar Khan who assassinated the *Amiru-l umara* Husain 'Ali Khan, went to the *darbar* one day, and after making his obeisance and sitting a short time, he rose quickly and asked leave to go home. Intizamu-d daula was surprised, and said, "I am going to-day to pay a visit to the *wazir*, but what reason is that for your asking to go away?" He replied, "There are some thousands of men armed with swords and daggers waiting there for your honour; and as soon as ever you sit down, you will be served in the same way as the Nawab Bahadur was. Beware, and do not go there until affairs of State are settled." The caution was not lost upon Intizamu-d daula, and he sent an excuse to the *wazir*. Communications about this went on for two or three days, . . . and 'Imadu-l Mulk was also sent to re-assure and conciliate Intizamu-d daula. . . .

(In the course of these negotiations) Safdar Jang sent a eunuch to the royal fortress with a letter, . . . and the commandant, who was a creature of Safdar Jang's, contrary to usage, admitted him without the royal permission. . . On this being reported to the Emperor, he was highly incensed, and ordered the commandant and the eunuch to be turned out. . . . All the servants and dependents of Safdar Jang were turned out of the fortress, not one was left. . . . These things greatly troubled Safdar Jang, and for two or three days there

[2][*Something seems to be left out between this and what follows—there are only a few words in the MS. saying "armed men were present in readiness."*]

was a talk of his attacking the house of Intizamu-d daula. Large numbers of men were assembled before his gates from morning until night, and a great force of Mughals and others collected at the house of Intizamu-d daula; while many nobles gathered together at the royal abode.

Safdar Jang, seeing that his fortune had changed, sent to ask for permission to retire to his province of Oudh. The Emperor instantly sent him a letter under his own signature, granting him permission to retire some days for the benefit of his health, and to return when better. He had not expected this letter, and was greatly annoyed; but next day he took his departure, and marched away by the bank of the river. . . . For two or three days after leaving the city he waited in expectation of a royal summons, and sometimes moved in one direction, sometimes in another. Inside the city, Intizamu-d daula and Ghaziu-d din Khan busied themselves in strengthening the fortifications, and in throwing up intrenchments outside. They manned them with their own men and with the "royal Jats,"[3] and exerted themselves to levy old soldiers and recruits. Safdar Jang saw that they were resolved to overthrow him, and so he felt compelled to prepare for btatle. In order to reinforce his army, he called to his assistance Suraj Mal Jat, and also Indar Gosain, *Faujdar* of Badali, with a strong force of followers. . . .

By advice of Suraj Mal Jat and Salabat Khan Zu-l fikar Jang, the *wazir* Safdar Jang brought out a young prince and raised him to the royal throne. As soon as news of this reached the city, the Emperor appointed Intizamu-d daula to be *wazir,* and made Hisam Khan Samsamu-d daula commander of the artillery. From that day open hostilities commenced, and Safdar Jang invested Shah-Jahanabad. He took the old city and the houses outside the fortifications from the hands of the

[3][*Jats who adhered to the Emperor.*]

Jats, and plundered them. . . . When the contest had gone on for six months, and numbers of men had been killed on both sides, Maharaja Madhu Singh Kachhwaha left his country, and approached the capital in the hope of making peace. . . . It was settled that Safdar Jang should retain the provinces of Oudh and Allahabad as before, and peace was made when he received the robe of investiture.

After the retirement of Safdar Jang to his provinces, the new *wazir*, and Ghaziu-d din ('Imadu-l Mulk) the *Amiru-l umara*, endeavoured to establish some order in the State. But envy and animosity arose between them, and each one acted according to his own views and interests. Malhar Rao and Jayapa Mahratta now arrived at the head of 60,000 horse, and (Ghaziu-d din) 'Imadu-l Mulk, who was expecting them, resolved to attack and punish Suraj Mal Jat for the part he had taken with Safdar Jang in plundering the environs of Shah-Jahana-bad. Intizamu-d daula, the *wazir*, desired to accept from Suraj Mal an offering of fifty *lacs* of rupees as the price of forgiveness, and to apply the money to the pay of the troops. 'Imadu-l Mulk, proud of his victory over Safdar Jang, and urged on by the Mahrattas, marched out, and besieging Suraj Mal in the fort of Kumbher, he took possession of his territory. In the course of three months Khandi Rao, son of Malhar Rao, was killed, and it became clear that the fort could not be reduced without heavy guns. 'Imadu-l Mulk then sent Mahmud Khan, who had been his *atalik* from childhood. . . . to bring up the royal artillery. . . .

Intizamu-d daula had conceived the design of bringing the Maharaja, the Rana, the Rathor, and the Kachhwaha Rajas, whose territories and people had suffered greatly from the ravages of the Mahrattas, to form a league against these marauders. He also hoped to win Safdar Jang, who had made overtures of reconciliation, and with their united forces to drive the Mahrattas out of Hindustan. . . . Accordingly he came to an agreement

with Maharaja Madhu Singh, Ram Singh, Safdar Jang, and Suraj Mal Jat, that as soon as the royal camp was pitched at Kol, Safdar Jang should first join him, and then the royal army should march on to Agra. Being joined at that capital by the Rajas and the Jats, they were to commence their work of settling the country, and of driving out the Mahrattas. Accordingly the Emperor (Ahmad) and the *wazir* set out for Kol and Sikandra. . . . On reaching the neighbourhood of Sikandra, numbers of the royal servants and of the adherents of the *amirs* in attendance joined the camp. Other men came in from all directions, and suitable artillery was obtained.

When the Emperor marched from Dehli, 'Akibat Mahmud Khan followed. . . . He went to Intizamu-d daula, and complained of the grievances he felt from want of appreciation by 'Imadu-l Mulk. Intizamu-d daula showed him great kindness, took him to the Emperor, and introduced him to the royal service. Having got leave to go out on pretence of bringing aid, he went off to the town of Khoraja. Intelligence now reached the royal camp that Malhar Rao had gone to Dehli with 50,000 horse, to bring one of the royal princes out of Salimgarh. The receipt of this news greatly alarmed the Emperor. . . . Malhar Rao approached the royal camp, and after consulting with 'Akibat Mahmud Khan, opened fire upon it with rockets and muskets. . . . The Emperor, without even consulting with his friends, resolved to go off to Dehli with Sahiba Zamani, his mother, . . . and reached the citadel with his party. . . . In the morning Intizamu-d daula found that he had not more than three or four hundred men left, . . . and hastened off to Dehli with the Mahrattas in pursuit. All the artillery and camp equipage fell into their hands, and the Emperor's mother was taken, and her equipage plundered. . . . Next day 'Imadu-l Mulk came up to the deserted forces, in which there was neither spirit nor power left. He consoled them, and by kindness won them to his own side. He waited on the Empress mother,

to pay his respects, and make his excuses, . . . and she proceeded on her way to Dehli. 'Imadu-l Mulk and Malhar Rao walked a few paces on foot in attendance upon her. They followed to Dehli. When Jayapa Mahratta saw that these two chiefs had gone off, and that he alone could not effect the reduction of Kumbher, he raised the siege, and went in the direction of Narnaul. Suraj Mal was thus relieved.

The Emperor entered the fort, and on the evening of the same day he was joined by Intizamu-d daula, . . . who advised that a force should be placed under him to throw up intrenchments round the fortress. . . . The Emperor replied: "Ghaziu-d din Khan 'Imadu-l Mulk is an old adherent of our house, and will not think of doing me any harm. After receiving the expression of my wishes, he will not fail to effect the withdrawal of the Mahrattas. The best thing you can do is to go and keep quiet at home for a few days." . . . He accordingly retired. 'Imadu-l Mulk sent a letter to the Emperor, demanding the office of *wazir*, and a new distribution of offices. . . . Next day he came to the presence, and was installed as *wazir*. . . . 'Akibat Mahmud Khan recommended that Ahmad Shah should be deposed, and another prince raised to the throne in his stead. 'Imadu-l Mulk and the Mahrattas were afraid of his power, and did not see how to act in opposition, so they acquiesced. After that the lawyers were collected, and were consulted as to the deposition of Ahmad Shah. . . . On their approval, Ahmad Shah was removed from the throne on the 10th Sha'ban, and cast into prison. . . . After that they waited upon the royal princes who were in confinement, to select one to ascend the throne. But the princes were afraid, and no one consented. At length, after much trouble, Sultan 'Azizu-d din, son of Jahandar Shah, son of Bahadur Shah, who during his seclusion had devoted himself to theological science, was prevailed upon to accept the crown, with the title of 'Azizu-d din Muhammad 'Alamgir sani (II.), on the 10th Sha'ban,

1167 A.H. Ghaziu-d din Khan 'Imadu-l Mulk was made *wazir*.

Ten days after the accession of 'Alamgir, the *wazir* 'Imadu-l Mulk and 'Akibat Mahmud Khan caused the deposed Emperor Ahmad and his mother to be blinded. The manner of their contriving this was, that a forged letter under the seal of Ahmad was addressed to the new Emperor, which excited his apprehension. On speaking of the matter to 'Imadu-l Mulk, he suggested that Ahmad should be deprived of sight, and the Emperor accordingly gave orders for the blinding both of him and his mother. Their emissaries entered the private apartments of the deposed monarch, treated him with indignities which it is unfit to write, and blinded him in a cruel manner. His mother, who had endeavoured to obtain his release, was treated in the same way. 'Akibat Mahmud Khan, in the service of 'Imadu-l Mulk, soon afterwards misconducted himself, and his master gave a hint, which was immediately acted upon, and the offender was killed.

Accession of Siraju-d daula: Taking of Calcutta

Nawab Hisamu-d daula Mahabat Jang (Alivardi Khan) died of dropsy near Murshidabad, in the eightieth year of his age, on the 9th Rajab, 1169 A.H. (April 10, 1756 A.D.). From his early youth he had abstained from intoxicating liquors, he had no love for music, and never cohabited with any women except his own wives. . . . (His daughter's son). Siraju-d daula, son of Zainu-d din Ahmad Khan Haibat Jang, succeeded him in his government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. . . .

Kishan Ballabh, a *zamindar,* being in arrears with his revenue, Siraju-d daula gave orders for his imprisonment. But he fled from Dacca, and took refuge in Calcutta, under the protection of Drake, "the great gentleman" of that place. When Siraju-d daula was informed of this, he proceeded to Murshidabad, and prepared for war. In the month of Ramazan, he started for Calcutta, from a place called Mansur-ganj, which he

had built, and on arriving at Calcutta, he pitched his tents outside. The English gentlemen had but a small number of men, and were in want of implements so they were unable to face him in the field. They shut themselves up in the old fort, threw up intrenchments, and strengthened the defences. Siraju-d daula had with him plenty of guns and large numbers of men; he gave orders for taking the houses, and in the twinkling of an eye he overpowered the English. Drake, seeing himself reduced to extremity, went on board ship with several of his people and sailed away. Those who were left behind had no leader, but they advanced to the defence. When the ammunition was exhausted, some died fighting with the utmost bravery; others, with their wives and children, were made prisoners.[4] All their wealth and property, which exceeded computation, was taken from the officers of the Company and other chiefs, and became the booty of the vagabonds in Siraju-d daula's army. This happened on the 22nd Ramazan, 1169 A.H. (June 20, 1756 A.D.), two months and twelve days after the accession of Siraju-d daula. The factories belonging to the Company at Kasim-bazar, near Murshidabad, were also pillaged by orders of Siraju-d daula, and Wajh (Watts), the chief of the factory, and some others, were made prisoners.

Recovery of Calcutta. Defeat of Siraju-d daula.

Drake, the governor of Calcutta, after his defeat from Siraju-d daula, went on board ship with his party, and proceeded to Madras, a large factory belonging to the English Company. Other English officers, who were scattered over Bengal on various commissions, when they heard of the loss of Calcutta, escaped as best they could from the straits in which they were placed, and made their way to Madras. At Madras was Colonel Clive, an officer of the army, and a servant of the King of England,

[4][*Nothing is here said about the Black Hole.*]

who had command over the factories in the Dakhin. In those days he had fought against the French, and had taken from them some of their possessions in the Dakhin, in recognition of which Muhammad Khan Salabat Jang, son of Asaf Jah, had given him the title of *Sabit Jang*, "Resolute in War." After consultation, Colonel Clive and the gentlemen from Calcutta embarked in ships, with nearly two regiments of Telingas and four companies of Europeans, and sailed to recover Calcutta.

As soon as they arrived at the port of Falta, they overpowered the men of Siraju-d daula by the fire of their ships, and making their way up to Calcutta, they anchored there near the factory. They sent proposals of peace to Siraju-d daula, asking pardon for Drake, and offering to pay several *lacs* of rupees, on condition of being allowed to rebuild their factories in Calcutta. Siraju-d daula rejected the proposal, and did not even write an answer. Colonel Clive then resolved to fight, and placed four guns in position. Nanak Chand (the commander of the place) made some show of fighting, but he soon fled. Colonel Clive and his followers then took possession of their old factories.

The receipt of this news awoke Siraju-d daula from his dream of security.[5] On the 12th Rabi'u-s sani, 1170 A.H. (Jan. 4, 1757 A.D.), he marched from Murshidabad to fight the English with his army and a good complement of artillery. On reaching the place, he encamped in a suitable position, and a war of guns and muskets at once began. The English endeavoured to treat, and sent their *wakils* from time to time. They sent a brave and intelligent person to Siraju-d daula, ostensibly to treat with him, but secretly to take notice of the ways and arrangements of the camp. He went there, and after discharging the requirements of etiquette, he made his observations and returned. In the course of a few days,

[5][*The common expression*: "*took the cotton out of his ears.*"]

the English prepared their forces, and one morning, before daybreak, fell upon the rear of Siraju-d daula's camp with volleys of musketry, and poured upon it showers of balls. The Nawab's men were helpless; many were killed, and many were wounded. It is said that the object of the English in this night attack was to seize upon Siraju-d daula, and make him prisoner; but in consequence of a thick fog, the way to his tent was missed, and the files of musketeers passed another way. So the Nawab escaped the danger of being killed or captured. The English returned to their ground in triumph and in joy.

Siraju-d daula was terrified by this attack, and was afraid that it would be followed by another. He felt the difficulty of maintaining his position, and having called a council of war. he pointed out the inutility of continuing the struggle, and the necessity of retreat. The foundations of a peace were soon laid. The English knew of his weakness and discouragement. They demanded compensation for the plunder of Calcutta, which amounted to a very large sum. After some parley, the terms of peace were settled, and the Nawab agreed to pay the sum demanded. They required ready money, and Siraju-d daula gave them six *parganas* near Calcutta to hold until the money was paid. Watts, the superintendent of the factory at Kasim-bazar, obtained his release on the defeat of Siraju-d daula. He now carried on the negotiations and correspondence between the two parties, and earned the thanks of both. Siraju-d daula took his departure for Murshidabad, and the English engaged in their commerce at Calcutta as heretofore. . . .

The flames of war now broke out in the Dakhin between the French and English, between whom there has been enmity for five or six hundred years. The English prevailed, and their warships, under the command of Admiral Walker *Jang Bahadur*, were sent against Faras-danga (Chandernagore), which is near Hugli.

The French had sunk ships in the river, leaving only room for the passage of their own ships one at a time. The English got their ships through that passage, beat the French, and took possession of Faras-danga. They also took the factories near Kasim-bazar. Monsieur Las,[6] the chief of the French, joined Siraju-d daula, and having collected his followers, he entered into his service with them, and a number of Telingas whom he had drilled.

The English, being informed of this, sent their *wakil* to Siraju-d daula, demonstrating that as peace had been made with him, the enemies of one must be looked upon as the enemies of the other, and friends regarded as mutual friends. They were faithful to the agreement they had made, and they required the Nawab to dismiss M. Las, and give him no support. His neglect to do this would be regarded as a breach of of the treaty. Those who were opposed to M. Las, and were well-wishers of the Nawab, earnestly pressed him to comply, to dismiss M. Las, and not to let such a bone of contention put an end to the peace with the English. Siraju-d daula talked and corresponded with M. Las on the subject, who represented that the Nawab had a large force of his own, and that no harm could come to his authority from accepting the services of a French officer and his men. Siraju-d daula urged this upon the English *wakil*, but he still strongly insisted upon the removal of M. Las. So Siraju-d daula of necessity sent him away, but told him to proceed to Patna, and make no delay on the road.

After this the enemies of Siraju-d daula, that is to say, Nawab Mir Ja'far Khan, Raja Dulabh Ram, Jagat Seth, and some others, who were sorely tried by him,

[6] ["*This Monsieur Lass is the same (as he) whom the French call Monsieur Lass, a son of the famous Scotchman John Law, comptroller of the finances in 1720 at Paris.*"—*Seir Mutaqherin, vol. ii. p. 78. Note of the French translator.*

passed their days and nights in fear and hope. They came to an understanding with each other, and schemed for the destruction of his life and authority. His maternal aunt, Ghasiti Begam, daughter of Alivardi Khan, who was incensed against him for his seizure of her cash and household goods, joined his enemies secretly. Siraju-d daula summoned Mir Muhammad Ja'far, one of his old associates, to a private meeting, and gave him instructions for raising forces secretly, upon which he proceeded to engage every unemployed soldier he could find. But afterwards he did his best to thwart Siraju-d daula, and to urge on the English.

Colonel Clive *Sabit-jang*, being informed of what was passing and of the evils medidated, cast aside the treaty of peace and prepared for war. He marched from Calcutta, to the great dismay of Siraju-d daula, who sought to conciliate and encourage his own adherents. He sent Raja Dulabh Ram forward with a force to choose a suitable place for throwing up intrenchments and collecting guns. Rai Dulabh started on his commission. Openly he applied himself to carry out the orders of his master; but in his secret heart he lost no opportunity of scheming for his overthrow. He was careful to observe the conditions of the treaty with the English on his own part and on the part of Nawab Mir Muhammad Ja'far, and he won over the officers of the army of Siraju-d daula by offers of money. Mir Muhammad Ja'far occupied himself continually in the same way. So they gathered large numbers around them, and few were left to Siraju-d daula.

Colonel Clive now approached, and Siraju-d daula was obliged to move from Mansur-ganj, and proceeded with his officers to Plassy. The Colonel, with a small army, which might number three or four thousand men, advanced with great courage and daring, and encamped opposite the army of the Nawab. On the 5th Shawwal, 1170 A.H. (June 23, 1757 A.D.), fire was opend on every side, and the engagement became warm. Europeans are

very skilful in the art of war, and in the use of artillery, and they kept up such an incessant fire that the hearers were deafened, and the beholders blinded. Many were killed, and many wounded. Mir Madan (the commander-in-chief), a brave and resolute man, who was the guiding spirit of Siraju-d daula, received a mortal wound from a cannon-ball. He caused himself to be conveyed to his master, and died after speaking a few words of advice and devotion. Siraju-d daula was greatly moved by his death, and sent to summon Mir Muhammad Ja'far. That officer, having resolved upon an infamous course, went to him, accompanied by some other chiefs. Siraju-d daula was greatly dejected, he apologized to Mir Ja'far for the wrongs he had done him, and asked for his advice. Mir Ja'far advised that as little of the day remained, he should recall his advanced force within the lines, and put off the battle to the next day, adding that he would provide for the safety of the army and the conduct of the battle.

Siraju-d daula directed his *diwan*, Mohan Lal, who was eager to fight, to go and stop the fighting until next day, and return to the lines. The *diwan* replied that it was no time for turning back; upon which Siraju-d daula again conferred with Mir Ja'far, who reiterated his advice. The Nawab was bewildered, and could do nothing but follow the counsel of Mir Ja'far. He sent strict orders recalling Mohan Lal, who was fighting manfully at his post. As soon as the *diwan* retired, many, who were overmatched, took the alarm, and fled to their defences. A general panic ensued, followed by a signal defeat. On learning the condition of his army, Siraju-d daula was filled with dismay; he feared the enemies in front, and and his hostile servants around him, and fled in haste towards Murshidabad. On the 6th Shawwal he reached Mansur-ganj, and looked around for friends and help. But misfortune has no friend. Even Muhammad I'raj Khan, father of his wife, made no effort to help him. To satisfy his soldiers, he opened

his treasury, and each man got what was his luck. His followers, seeing him helpless, carried off large sums under various pretences to their homes. After staying a short time at Mansur-ganj, on the 7th Shawwal, he secured plently of *asharafis* and taking with him his favourite Lutfu-n nissa, his wife and his youngest daughter, and several others, he departed in carts and other vechiles towards Bhagwan-gola. When he was near Chaukihath, Mir Muhammad Kasim Khan, son-in-law of Mir Ja'far having heard of his flight, hastened after him with several men, and demanded money and jewels, and he was obliged to give him a box of jewels belonging to Lutfu-n nissa. Mir Kasim then turned back with his valuable prize. . . . On reaching Bhagwan-gola, Siraju-d daula embarked on a boat, and went on his way to Patna.

It is said that when Siraju-d daula heard that the English army had marched from Calcutta to make war upon him, he wrote a letter to Monsieur Las, according to promise, and urgently called him to his aid. He directed Raja Ram Narain, governor of Bihar, to supply him with money. The Raja saw that the Nawab's star was on the decline, and purposely made a delay of some days in supplying the money. Meanwhile, Siraju-d daula had been defeated at Plassy, and arrived at Mansur-ganj. M. Las and Muhammad 'Ali Khan, a distinguished cavalry officer, set off in boats from Patna, and went as far as Raj-mahal. There they heard that Siraju-d daula had been made prisoner, and they returned to Patna.

MIR-AT-I AFTAB-NUMA
OF
SHAH NAWAZ KHAN

THIS "Sun-reflecting Mirror" is a useful compilation written in 1803 A.D. by 'Abdur-Rahman, better known as Shah Nawaz Khan Hashimi, subsequently Prime Minister to

acc no 8194

the nominal Emperor Akbar II. The name appears to be derieved from the poetical title of *Aftab,* which the author assumed by direction of Shah 'Alam.

The *Mir-at-i Aftab-numa* contains abundant matter, as the following Table of Contents will show: and some of the notices respecting the countries and cities of Hindustan, as well as the Biographical articles, are well and correctly drawn up. The historical details of the first thirty years of the reign of Shah 'Alam are treated in some detail; but the preceding reigns are given in a more compendious shape. Altogether, as an historial work it is of little value. The History of Muhammadan India commences with the Slave Kings; but in the work the detailed history begins with the Mughal sovereigns. The work is divided into a Preface, two Parts, and a Conclusion. There are several chapters (*jajalli,* lustres) in each Part, and several sections (*dama,* brilliances) in each chapter.

Preface: Regarding the origin and advantages of history, p, 5 to 7.—Part I. in six chapters: i. The Creation of the World containing sections on Meterology, Mines, Stones, Products of the Earth, Animals, Man and his Limbs, and Ethics, pp. 7 to 123—ii. Different kinds of Prophets, containing sections on Adam, Idris, Paradise, pp. 123 to 214—ii. History of Muhammad, containing sections on his Descendants, Wives, Chief Khalifs and Friends, pp. 124 to 249—iv. Account of the Sufis, Saints, Philosophers, Poets, Artists Caligraphers and Hindu Sects in several sections, pp. 249 to 414—v. Kings of Arabia and Persia; the Ummayide and 'Abbaside Khalifs, and other Asiatic dynasties; the Ghorian Kings of Dehli, the Kings of the Dakhin, and the ancient Rajas of India, pp. 414 to 494—vi. The Gurgani Kings, their nobles and ministers, and the celebrated songsters of their time, with notices of Indian music, pp. 494 to 741. Part II. in eight chapters. The first seven are devoted to an account of the seven grand divisions of the world, pp. 741 to 896. Chap. viii. describes the seven seas, pp. 896

to 910. The Conclusion is occupied with a description of the wonders and curiosities of different countries, pp. 910 to 924.

SIZE—4to., 924 pages, of 18 lines each.

INTIKHABU-T' TAWARIKH
OF
MIRZA MASITA

The author of this little work is Mirza Masita, descended, both on his fathers's and mother's side, from ancestors of some consideration in India. The first of his paternal ancestors who came to India was Aliwardi Khan Turkoman, said to be descended from Sultan Sanjar, the Saljuki sovereign. He arrived in the time of Jahangir, and by his bravery and good qualities (especially that of being a good sportsman, and the inventor of a mode of hunting styled Turkalani[1]), obtained admission into the rank of the Nobles of that Emperor, and amongst other offices conferred upon him by his successor Shah Jahan, he was appointed Governor of Malwa, in succession to Khandauran Khan. There are laudatory articles respecting him in the *Tazkiratu-l Umara* and *Ma-asiru-l Umara*. One of his ancestors on the mother's side was the celebrated Islam Khan, the minister of Shah Jahan, who was at one time invested with almost independent power in the government of

[1]*Shah Nawaz Khan Samsamu-d daula says that this is also called Bawar; that it was invented in the twenty-first year of Jahangir's reign, and cost the inventor* 2,400 *rupees. It consisted of a series of exceedingly strong nets, the weight of eighty camel-loads, ten thousand royal yards long, and six broad. It was fixed like the walls of a tent to strong poles, and no wild animal, when once caught, could break through the meshes.*

three *subas* of the Dakhin; so that the author had reason to be proud of his honourable descent.

The *Intikhabu-t Tawarikh* was composed by Mirza Masita for the instruction of his son, Karimu-llah Khan, commonly called Mirza Kallu. It is a mere abstract history, and it is not shown to what works the author is indebted for his limited information.

The work is divided into an Introduction, two Books, and a Conclusion. The first Book is devoted to the Kings of Dehli, Multan, Sind, Kashmir, Jaunpur, Bengal, and Gujarat; the second to the Kings of the Dakhin, and is divided into *warak*, "leaves," and *satar*, "lines."

CONTENTS

Account of the Hindu religion and castes, p. 2; History of the Hindu Rajas, p. 9.—Book I. The introduction of Islam, p. 13; The Sultans of Dehli, p. 15; The Sultans of Lahore and Ghazni, p. 52; The Sultans of Multan, p. 54; The Sultans of Sind and Thatta, p. 59; The Sultans of Kashmir, p. 66; The Sultans of Jaunpur, p. 82; The Sultans of Bengal, p. 86; The Sultans of Gujarat, p. 93. —Book II. Warak 1. The Sultans of the Dakhin, subdivided into six Satars. Satar i. The Sultans of Kulbarga and Ahmadabad, p. 104; ii. Kings of Bijapur, p. 115; iii. Kings of Ahmadnagar, p. 122; iv. Kings of Tilang, p. 132; v. Kings of Birar, p. 136; vi. Kings of Bidar, p. 138. Warak 2. Kings of Malwa and Mandu, p. 140; 3. Faruki Sultans of Khandesh, p. 150; 4. Rulers of Malabar, p. 159.—Conclusion—Distances and Revenues of each province of Hindustan, p. 163.

SIZE—Large Folio, 166 pages with 27 lines to a page.

The *Tarikh-i Masita* is rare. The only copy with which I am acquainted is in one of the Royal Libraries of Lucknow.

The work was written during the reign of Shah 'Alam, but as the copy is deficient in some parts of that reign, the precise year with which the history concludes cannot be ascertained.

SA'ADAT-I JAWED
OF
HARNAM SINGH

The author of this work was Harnam Singh, a Sarsuti Brahmin. He was born at Brahmanabad, in the province of Lahore, and resided at Malawanur, near Lucknow. His father was Gurdas Singh, who, having been in public employ under the Nawabs of Oudh, is the frequent subject of mention and eulogy in the latter part of this History.

In the opening of this work the author proceeds like a Musulman to "invoke thousands of blessings upon the most exalted Prophet, the bestower of mercy in the world, the last of all the prophets, he who carried his steed to the field of the ninth heaven, the messenger of God the Creator, Muhammad the chosen, may the blessings of God be upon him, and peace upon all his descendants and friends!"

The author states that from his earliest youth he was a lover of historical studies, and used to devote his leisure hours to writing accounts of Kings, Rajas, and Nobles of the various provinces of Hindustan; but as his circumstances were as embarrassed and perplexed as the loose notes he had taken, he was not able to collect them into a book, till he had been honoured by the patronage of Sa'adat 'Ali, after whom he denominates his work *Sa'adat-i Jawed*—"Eternal Bliss."

His dedication is more than usually eulogistic, and we may guess the extent of his gratitude from his speaking of his patron in the following extravagant rhapsody:—"One under whose government the name of tyranny and oppression is erased from the page of the world, and before (the mention of) whose generosity the book of Hatim is put aside. The sun of whose bounty shines from east to west, and the fame of whose general benevolence has reached throughout the whole world. From the drops of whose liberality the garden of the world is

always green, and from the stream of whose munificence the orchards of the hopes of all nations are perpetually fresh. From the fear of whose spear the lion crouches near the deer, and the blow of whose sharp sword shortens the life of cruel savages. The clouds of whose generosity rain equally over the rich and the poor, and the ocean of whose bounty benefits the great and the small alike. One who is so liberal that the revenue of the seven regions of the earth does not suffice for one day of his expenditure, and so great that the height of Saturn and 'Ayyuk is not equal to that of his palace. One from whose birth the Muhammadan world became exalted, and from whose hospitality the fame of 'Ali is increased. One who in establishing Islam has shown himself a great warrior, and in promulgating the true faith is as firm and immovable as the Polar Star. One who resembles Aristotle in wisdom, and whose mind is devoted to the welfare of his subjects. One who is equal to Sikandar in prosperity, and who by his conquests has subjugated the whole world—the Rustam of the Age, the Hatim of the time, a Kisra in justice, Bahram in attack, destroyer of the foundation of infidelity and idolatry,[1] establisher of Islam and the Moslems, possessing a prudence like that of Plato: the chief of all the great men of the world, the sun of all the renowned nobles, the theatre of the miracles of God, and the achiever of endless victories, the great *wazir* Nawab Yaminu-d daula Nizamu-l Mulk Mubariz Jang Sa'adat 'Ali Khan—may God ever increase his prosperity and wealth!

"A minister who protected the world by his equity and justice;
Master of the sword, and possessed of a noble disposition;
The most fortunate, brave and just;
One who like the sun gives gold to the world.

[1] *A Hindu is writing.*

A brave man who can overcome a tiger, and catch a lion;
In strength and courage has no one equal to himself;
When he gives, he is a second Hatim;
At the time of battle, he is another Rustam;
Through his justice the heads of proud tyrants are bowed down;
All his works are readily and expeditiously done.
From the excess of his liberality, bounty, and generosity,
He makes an impression upon the sun and moon, as a die on a diram.
If I were to speak of his justice.
The story of Naushirwan would sink into oblivion.
The heavens before his greatness bow down their heads.
The foundation of violence is entirely rooted out.
If he grid up his loins in the field of battle,
Alarm will spread from India to Europe.
The whole country of Hindustan is obedient to him.
Nay, I am wrong, I mean the whole world, from one extremity to the other.
The destiny of the heavens is conformable to his orders.
Victory adorns his flag.
Who has seen his equal in justice and generosity?
He is the greatest in all the world, and superior to all men of courage,
In strength like an elephant, and in bravery like a lion;
Bold in his heart, both in the cabinet and the field;
Head of all great men, and the crown of all the chiefs.
In the time of his government, O world, be happy!
If any person seeks protection from calamity,
He finds rest nowhere but in this country.
Come, oh Nanu![2] shut your lips from speech,
Because his rank is too great.

[2]*This is the author's "takhallus," or poetical designation, and he seems proud of his talent for versification, as he intersperses several scraps of poetry amongst his prose.*

If a book be written in his praise,
It would still be too small in the estimation of a wise man.
How can a particle of dust speak of the sun,
And what account will be taken of it, if it open its lips?
O God! keep this noble *wazir* for ever,
With all his ancient pomp, wealth and dignity.
May his shadow be preserved to cover the world!
May the heads of exalted nobles be his footstool!"

After this fulsome nonsense, we cannot expect much truth when he speaks of his benefactor; but the work is, nevertheless, useful for the biographical details which it gives of the Nobles who were most conspicuous in the history of India from the reign of Muhammad Shah to the author's own time.

The precise date of composition is not given, but as Lord Lake's siege of Bharatpur is mentioned, and Sa'adat 'Ali was the reigning Nawab of Oudh, the work must have been written between the years 1805 and 1814.

The *Sa'adat-i Jawed* is divided into four Books.

CONTENTS

Preface, p. 1.—Book I. The Ante-Muhammadan History of India, chiefly from the *Mahabharat* and *Subh-i Sadik*, in two Chapters, p. 7; II. The Ghaznivides and Emperors of Delhi, in two Chapters, p. 52; III. Biographical account of the Nobles of Hindustan, p. 384; IV. Geographical description of the seven climates, marvels of the world, and miscellaneous matters, in four chapters, p. 436.

SIZE—Small 8vo., containing 504 pages of 14 lines each, but a few pages are missing at the end.

The first, second, and third Books are too short to be of any value, and they are for the most part mere abstracts of other common works. The fourth Book conveys information in a useful, and occasionally a novel

form, and has, therefore, been copiously abstracted from the following pages.

The *Sa'adat-i Jawed* is a rare work. I have never heard of any other copy but that in one of the Royal Libraries at Lucknow, which I should have supposed to be an autograph, but that my own copy, which is taken from it, is so very full of errors that I can hardly suppose the original to be free from them. [The following Extracts were translated by *munshis*, and revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS

Nawab Mumtazu-l Mulk Sarbuland Khan

He was an inhabitant of Lun, and his name was Mirza Rafi'. His father, Muhammad Afzal Khan, was one of the nobles of the Emperor Muhammad Aurangzeb. Mirza Rafi', who was the *diwan* of Prince 'Azimu-s Shan, displayed great bravery in the battle with A'zam Shah, and obtained the title of Mumtazu-l Mulk Sarbuland Khan. In the time of Mu'izzu-d din Jahandar Shah, when Prince 'Azimu-s Shan was slain, Sarbuland Khan, disregarding his obligations, forsook Farrukh Siyar, son of 'Azimu-s Shan, and joined Mu'izzu-d din. He was deputed to Gujarat on the part of Asad Khan, the minister; and through the recommendations of Kutbu-l Mulk Saiyid 'Abdu-llah Khan, Farrukh Siyar, after his accession, pardoned him for his past conduct, and conferred on him the Governorship of Oudh and Allahabad.

After some time he became Governor of the province of Bihar. He then obtained the rank of seven thousand, as well as a *jagir* in the *suba* of Lahore, and the office of *subadar* of Kabul. In the time of Muhammad Shah Badshah, he was again made Governor of Gujarat, and when he was removed from that office, he fought a desperate battle with Raja Dhankal Singh Rathor, who had been appointed Governor in his place, and obtained victory over him. When he came to Agra, the displeasure of the Emperor was evinced by prohibiting him

from attending Court for one thousand days. When that period had elapsed, he was admitted to an audience by Muhammad Shah, and was raised to the Governorship of Allahabad. At the time of the invasion of Nadir Shah, he came to Court. Nadir Shah entrusted him with the duty of collecting the amercement fixed upon the people of Dehli. He departed to the next world in 1153 A.H. He was a favourite of the Emperor, and always victorious in battle. He was generous, polite, merciful and humane. He always drank the water of the Ganges, and during his governorship of Gujarat and Kabul, large sums were laid out in carrying it to those provinces. It was said by Mansur Ram, his treasurer, that fifty-six *krors* of rupees in cash, independent of personal allowance, had passed through his hands for the payment of the Nawab's troops, and other necessary expenses of the different departments. His power may be readily conjectured from this single statement.

Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk's contest with Raja Bhagwant Khichar[3]

Raja Bhagwant[4] Khichar, *Zamindar* of Ghazipur, in the district of Kora, was the chief of the insurgents of that time. He was a source of constant trouble to Jan-nisar Khan, who had married the sister of Kamru-d din Khan, the minister, and who had charge of the district of Kora. On one occasion, when Nawab Sarbuland Khan, the

[3] *This story, which so fully exemplifies the decline of the monarchy, is told in detail in the Hadikatu-l Akalim, the Siyaru-l Muta-akhkhirin, the Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh and the Tarikh-i Muzaffari. Rustam 'Ali's account will be seen in another volume.*

[4] *He is called Ajazu, Azaru, and Udaru, in some of the accounts. We found his descendants in possession at the time of the Cession, who, after exhibiting the hereditary turbulence of the family, were pacified by a pension.*

Governor of Allahabad, came to Kora, Jan-nisar Khan asked him for his aid in destroying Bhagwant. Sarbuland Khan said that it would take much time to subdue Bhagwant, and he had no money to pay the army; but that, if Jan-nisar Khan could provide him with this necessary, he would punish Bhagwant. Jan-nisar Khan refused, and Sarbuland Khan returned to Allahabad. Bhagwant, who was watching the opportunity of rising against Jan-nisar Khan, allowed but a short time to elapse, before he suddenly fell upon him, and having put him to death, plundered his camp, and took the ladies of his household, and distributed them between himself and his relatives.[5] Kamru-d din Khan, the minister, was furious at this intelligence, and, aided by all the nobles of Dehli, he marched against Bhagwant. The rebel secured himself within the fort of Ghazipur, and though the minister exerted every effort against him, they all proved ineffectual. In the end, he left Nawab Muhammad Khan Bangash, of Farrukhabad, to prosecute the siege, and himself returned to Dehli. Muhammad Khan adjusted the matter by receiving a contribution, and then returned to Farrukhabad. At this Bhagwant, being more emboldened than ever, raised the head of arrogance to the heavens, and took possession of Kora.

When the charge of that district was conferred by His Majesty on Burhanu-l Mulk, he went there with a formidable army. Bhagwant, with a body of three thousand horse, sallied from the fort of Ghazipur, and suddenly appeared before the army of the Nawab on its arrival, upon which occasion many of his followers were killed by the Nawab's artillery. Bhagwant, avoiding the fire of the guns, fell upon the advanced division of the army, which was headed by Abu Turab Khan. This

[5]*The Muntakhabu-t Tawarikh says Rap Rai, the son of Bhagwant, took the governor's daughter, who poisoned herself to save her honour.*

officer was slain, and Bhagwant then attacked the Nawab's body-guard. Mir Khudayar Khan, with 6,000 horse, advanced to oppose him, and was defeated after a severe action. The Nawab himself thought it necessary to move to his support, and a close conflict ensued. Shaikh 'Abdu-llah of Ghazipur, Shaikh Ruhu-l Amin Khan of Bilgram, Durjan Singh[6] *chaudhari* of Kora, Dilawar Khan, 'Azmat Khan and other Afghans, attacked and surrounded Bhagwant, who affected to despise his enemy, but was slain by the hands of Durjan Singh *chaudhari*. Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk obtained the victory, and the head[7] of Bhagwant was sent to Dehli.

Be it known that heaps of paper would have to be written were I to give an account of the battles which the deceased Nawab fought, or were I to attempt to describe the acts of his generosity, patronage, and liberality. The Almighty God, by virtue of the excellent character of that great noble, whose rank was as high as the heavens, and who possessed the qualities of Rizwan the doorkeeper of Paradise, has opened the gates of prosperity to his descendants even to this very time. May the holy God preserve the foundation of the wealth, dignity and authority of this house to eternity, and give victory to its wellwishers; and may, the wicked enemies of his family, from which the whole of Hindustan is benefited, be confounded and punished! May the desolated world be filled by his noble descendants to the day of resurrection!

An account of the death of Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk, which happened at the time of the invasion of Nadir Shah, by a disease in his legs, has been given above. After his death it was found by his accounts that his army had received two *krors* of rupees in advance. Nawab

[6]*Some call him a relative of Bhagwant in the Nawab's service. Others call him a Brahmin.*

[7]*Other authorities state that his skin was stuffed with straw, and sent as a present to the minister.*

Safdar Jang, his son-in-law and successor, expunged that enormous sum, and resigned all claim to it. An account of Nawab Safdar Jang, and of his accession to the post of *Wazarat* in the time of Ahmad Shah, son of Muhammad Shah, will be given hereafter.

Maharaja Jai Singh Sawai, of the Kachhwaha tribe

His ancestors have been from ancient times the Rajas of Amber. Amongst them was Raja Bhara Mal, whose son was Raja Bhagwan Das, and Raja Man Singh was the eldest son of that Raja. These, in the time of the Emperor Akbar, were raised to the dignity of *Amiru-l umara* or generals of the army. With a view to strengthening the foundation of his government, Akbar connected himself by marriage with this family. They rendered valuable services and performed great exploits, which are narrated in the histories of Hindustan. Maharaja Jai Singh was very generous, kind, wise and brave. After his death, thirty *krors* of rupees were reckoned to have been given by him in charity and rewards. He performed the sacrifice of a horse according to the well-known Hindu custom.

The city of Jainagar is a monument of his greatness. After his death, Muhammad Shah granted a *khil'at* to his son Raja Isri Singh, confirming him in his hereditary dominions. This Prince, in the battle fought against Ahmad Shah Durrani, fled from Sirhind, and went to his country as has been before related.

The descendants of Raja Jai Singh Sawai are still in possession of their hereditary dominions, and maintain great state. As the lamp of Dehli has been long since extinguished, and the Dakhinis (Mahrattas) have taken possession of most of the cities of Hindustan, and the Rajas of Joudhpur, Udipur and other Chiefs of Marwar have become weak, and pass their days as if they were nights; so also the Rajas of Jainagar pay a fixed annual tribute to the Dakhinis and enjoy a state of peace.

Nawab Zakariya Khan, son of Nawab 'Abdu-s Samad Khan

Zakariya Khan was for many years Governor of Lahore. He had married the daughter of Kamru-d din Khan. He was a just, harmless and honourable nobleman, and as he found the people of Lahore to be similarly disposed, their company was very agreeable to him. In those days the bigoted Mullas of Lahore used to dispute with the Hindus on religious points, and persecuted them; but the Khan always tried to adjust their quarrels amicably.

A Mughal was enamoured of the wife of a Khattri, and cast a longing look upon her; but the modest woman refused to receive his advances. The Mughal hit upon the expedient of making an accomplice of the wife of the washerman whom she employed, and gave her a large sum of money. The washerman's wife wrapped up a costly veil and trowsers, such as are generally worn by a Muhammadan bride, in the other clothes belonging to the Khattri's wife, and took them to her in the evening. About the same time, the Mughal celebrated in his own house his nuptials with a slave-girl who lived with him, in the presence of some Muhammadans of his neighbourhood; and, as is done on the occasion of marriages, sweetmeats, etc., were sent in large quantities to the neighbours and friends. The next day, with a number of wicked characters, he went to the house of the Khattri, and declared, that during the night, the Khattri's wife had come to his house of her own free will, and having embraced the Muhammadan faith, had been married to him. The relatives of the woman were much surprised at this, and asked her what the truth was. She said that she had never seen the Mughal, who asserted, by way of prof, that the marriage clothes which she had worn last night must be in the house; and when they searched, true enough, there was found a suit of such apparel as is worn, according to Muhammadan custom, at the time of marriage.

Great were the consternation and grief of her relatives, and the poor woman in her shame resolved to die. At last, the matter was brought before the Khan, and about a hundred Muhammadans of the neighbourhood of the Mughal, who had eaten the sweetmeats, declared that on the previous night the Mughal had in reality celebrated his nuptials. The Kazi of Lahore decreed that a Hindu woman, who had espoused the Muhammadan faith, and had entered into marriage with a Muhammadan, could not be allowed to apostatize again. The Khan was much surprised, and deferred his decision to the next day.

In the night-time, he disguised himself in the habit of a *fakir*, and first went to the house of the woman. There he saw some other *fakirs* sitting in a corner, conversing with each other in this wise. "Friends, we have observed this woman for a long time, and have never found her conduct other than modest and continent. How could it be that she went to the Mughal and was married to him? God knows what deception has been practised." The Khan, having heard this, went to the quarter in which the Mughal was residing, and there heard some people saying, "This Mughal is a fornicator, liar, and impostor. We never saw the wife of the Khattri coming to his house; how then was she married to him?" The Khan returned to his house, and the next morning, having called the washerman's wife, put her to torture, when she confessed that the Mughal had given her money to place that bridal apparel amongst the woman's clothes. The Khan put both the Mughal and the washerman's wife to death. Many stories like this of the justice of the said Khan were related in Lahore. May God forgive him for his sins!

Lala Lakhpat Rai and Jaspat Rai, both Khattris of Lahore, were secretaries and counsellors of Zakariya Khan, and entrusted with the conduct of all his affairs. Although they both had received the title of Raja, yet they did not themselves assume that appellation. When

Nadir Shah, after his plunder of Dehli, returned to his native country, he ordered that all the people of Lahore should be taken away prisoners. Lala Lakhpat Rai made him a present of three *lacs* of rupees, which were accepted; and having thus caused the freedom of about five hundred thousand people, male and female, of the Hindu and Muhammadan persuasions, he left a good name behind him in this world.

Raja Majlis Rai

Raja Majlis Rai, a Sarsuti Brahmin, inhabitant of Lahore, was *diwan* of Kamru-d din Khan, the minister. It is said that although he was the head of the minister's office, yet he could not write a letter. His clerks used to compose all his official records. One day, Kamru-d din Khan ordered the Raja to write in his presence, and having seen bad writing, said, "Raja Majlis Rai, how could you get the Wazarat of Hindustan with this elegant hand?" He replied, "My master, good luck does not require either knowledge or art, for it is said, 'Fortune equal to a barleycorn is better than a whole load of science.' " Raja Majlis Rai was very generous and a great friend of the needy. During the winter he gave quilts to the *fakirs* who wandered about the lanes and streets of Dehli; and from his dispensary all kinds of medicines were given to the poor patients.

Nadir Shah seized Majlis Rai, with a view to discover the treasures of Kamru-d din Khan, and in his own presence, asked him where they were. He replied, "O King of Kings! the minister is very luxurious and a great drunkard; what he gets he consumes, and lays by nothing." Nadir Shah, being angry, menaced him with punishment. Majlis Rai then presented him. from his own stores, with a *kror* of rupees in cash, jewels and other property, and said that it was all procured from the treasure of the minister. Nadir Shah, at the instigation of some of the nobles of Hindustan, who acted according to the saying that people of the same profession

hate each other, put Raja Majlis Rai to the torture, and cut off one of his ears. Although the whole treasure of the minister was in his possession, yet he did not discover it to any man. He took the Emperor's soldiers with him to his house, and having stabbed a dagger into his belly, departed this world. Nadir Shah was very sorry on hearing of the intelligence, and remarked that he was a rare instance of a grateful Hindu. He then ordered the Raja's servants to be punished. In all the city of Dehli exclamations arose in praise and admiration of the departed soul of Majlis Rai.

His eldest son, Raja Khushhal Rai, was superintendent of the bath and private chapel, an office which generally belongs to the prime minister.

Defeat of Hurmat Khan, son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan

In these days, Hurmat Khan Rohilla, son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, having collected a force of about 20,000 vagabonds and Afghans, crossed the Ganges at Anupshahr. He laid siege to the fort of Pilibhit, which was in possession of the minister's adherents, and began to spead devastation throughout the country. He determined that when the army of the minister should come against him, he would fly to the forests at the foot of the Kumaun hills. Maharaja Surat Singh sent the father of the writer of these pages, Rai Gurdas against Hurmat Khan, who, on hearing that the army of the minister was approaching, abandoned the siege of Pilibhit, and pitched his camp on the borders of the jungle. Rai Gurdas Singh pursued and came up to his encampment, upon which Hurmat Khan set his army in array, and, after a very severe engagement, was defeated and fled, leaving some of his men in ambush in a ravine. Rai Gurdas Singh, being an experienced man, obtained intelligence of the ambuscade, and with a body of his gallant companions in arms went to the place. The scheme of the Afghans being thus disconcerted, they fled away. About two thousand of them were killed and

wounded, and victory declared in favour of the Nawab Wazir. Hurmat Khan took refuge in the Kumaun hills, and Rai Gurdas Singh sacked the villages which were below the hills, and within the territory of the Raja of Kumaun. He also determined to invade him in the hills, but the Raja sent his ambassadors, and sued for peace. Hurmat Khan fled beyond the Kumaun jurisdiction, and sought protection under some other hill chiefs. In the mean time a letter was received from Nawab Asafu-d daula, of which the following is a copy:

"May the sincere and faithful Rai Gurdas Singh be protected from evil! It has been represented by the intelligencers, that having proceeded with the army placed under you against Hurmat Khan Rohilla, you have given him a complete defeat. This is considered a most valuable service on your part. You should now take a written engagement from the Raja of Kumaun to the effect that he will never give protection to the enemies of this State within his dominions, and having done this, you should return from that country. You should consider these orders imperative, and act according to them."

In short, the father of the writer of this book took a definite agreement from the Raja of Kumaun to this effect, and returned. During these same days Maharaja Surat Singh was removed from the governorship of Bareilly, which was bestowed upon other officials.

Beni Bahadur

A person named Beni, who was first employed by Raja Maha Narain as the carrier of his water-vessel, but latterly was employed by him on certain occasions as a medium of communication with the Nawab, actuated by his bad disposition, began to complain of the conduct of his master before the Nawab. The Nawab at first appointed him to the charge of certain districts, but by degrees the star of his fortune rose to the height of the Nawab, obtained the title of Raja Beni Bahadur, and

was exalted with the grant of the insignia of the Mahi-muratib, Naubat-khana, and Roshan-chauki. This is the same Beni Bahadur who, in the contests with the English, acted very treacherously, and combined with them. The Nawab, after he was established in his kingdom, deprived him of sight. "I do not except that you, who have sown barley, will reap wheat at harvest."

In short, from such conduct as has been before mentioned, the Nawab was very angry with Raja Maha Narain, and kept him for some time under surveillance. He was at last set free through the intercession of the great and most respected mother of Nawab Waziru-l Mamalik Shuja'u-d daula. The most extraordinary part of it was this, that during all the time Raja Maha Narain suffered this severe treatment, the Nawab never gave any annoyance to his father, Raja Ram Narain, or his uncle, Raja Partap Narain, who were both living.

When, in 1186 A.H. (1772 A.D.), the province of Kanuj, and the country up to the boundary of Anupshahr, was wrested from the possession of the Dakhinis by the Nawab, Raja Maha Narain was appointed governor of it. At the same time, Rai Gurdas Singh, the author's father, according to the Nawab's orders, having resigned his office as deputy in the district of Kora, under Mirza Haidar Beg Khan, was employed in the settlement of the new acquisition. During the time that he was so employed, Mukhtaru-d daula, being disgusted with Raja Maha Narain, obtained Nawab Asafu-d daula's orders to confiscate his *jagir*.

Maharaja Nuwul Rai

He was a Suksaina Kayasth by caste, and an inhabitant of the district of Etawa. In the commencement of his career he served Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk as a writer; but Nawab Safdar Jang gave him the title of Raja, and appointed him his deputy and commander-in-chief, in which capacity he punished the insurgents of the province severely. Although the Nawab Wazir resided at Dehli for several

years, yet through the good management of the Maharaja, no disturbance ever arose in the country under his rule. At the time when Muhammad Shah Badshah went against 'Ali Muhammad Khan, and besieged the fort of Bangash, he could not take it, though it was made only of mud, and he was accompanied by all the nobles of his Court. But when, according to the orders of the Nawab Wazir, the Maharaja reached the place, he demolished the wall of the fort in one day with the fire of his heavy artillery, and having enhanced his reputation, was received with distinction by his master. It has been above mentioned that Maharaja Nuwul Rai was slain after a bold resistance in the battle with Ahmad Khan Bangash.

Raja Khushhal Rai

Raja Khushhal Rai was the son of Maharaja Nuwul Rai. Although he obtained no distinguished employment under Nawab Wazir Shauja'u-d daula, yet Nawab Asafu-d daula, in consideration of the services of his ancestors, raised him to the office of Pay-master, and gave him charge of Allahabad. He lived till his death in a state of affluence and comfort.

Nawab A'safu-d daula and the Rohillas

Faizu-llah Khan Rohilla, whom Nawab Shuja'u-d daula, at the conquest of Bareilly, had placed in possession of the districts of Rampur and other *mahals* yielding a revenue of thirteen *lacs* of rupees, maintained as long as he lived great dignity and pomp, and having taken great pains to improve his country, he realized double the amount of revenue from it.

Muhammad 'Ali Khan, his eldest son, sat upon the *masnad* with the sanction of Nawab Asafu-d daula. But Najju Khan, 'Umar Khan, and his son Sarbuland Khan, together with other Rohilla chiefs, attempted to remove Muhammad 'Ali Khan and instigated his younger brother, Ghulam Muhammad Khan, to usurp the *masnad*. Muhammad 'Ali Khan was an intimate friend of Nawab Asafu-d daula, and had received from him much kind-

ness, so the Nawab wrote to Ghulam Muhammad Khan to the effect that it was of no great consequence that he had usurped the *masnad*, but that, as he had taken Muhammad 'Ali Khan prisoner, he should send him to Lucknow, where some employment might be given to him, which would induce him to abstain from annoying the usurper. Ghulam Muhammad Khan, apprehensive that Muhammad 'Ali Khan's departure would occasion some distrubance, with the advice of Najju Khan and 'Umar Khan, put him to death in prison.

The Nawab, thirsting for the blood of Ghulam Muhammad Khan, marched from Lucknow with a powerful army of his own, aided by his English allies. Ghulam Muhammad, having collected eighty thousand Rohillas and Afghans, raised the standard of revolt, and advanced from Rampur with the intention of plundering the city of Bareilly, which belonged to the Nawab. In those days Rai Gurdas Singh had charge of Barielly in conjunction with Sambhu Nath. Depending upon the good fortune of the Nawab, he prepared to defend the city, and the Afghans were not able to plunder it. Before the arrival of the Nawab, the army of the English had reached Bareilly, and Ghulam Muhammad, who had encamped at five *kos* from the city, made a vigorous attack on the English battalions, and fought most desperately. But the English, who in battle are very Rustams and Isfandiyars, made a good stand, and having confounded the Afghans with the shot of their guns, gave them a complete defeat. Najju Khan and Sarbuland Khan were slain, and Ghulam Muhammad Khan fled towards the forests under the Kumaun hills. The compiler of this book was with his father in this battle.

The victorious army encamped for two months near the forest to chastise the Rohillas, and Ghulam Muhammad was obliged to surrender. With the advice of the English he was sent prisoner to Calcutta. It is said that he obtained leave to go to Mecca; but where he went to afterwards is not known. In short, Nawab Asafu-d daula,

proceeding through Rampur, entered the city of Bareilly in triumph. He gave some *mahals* of the district of Rampur, the revenue of which amounted to about ten lacs of rupees, as *jajirs* to the other sons and descendants of Faizu-llah Khan; the rest of the territory he confiscated and then returned to Lucknow. . . .

Contests between the English and Ranjit Singh Jat

The impetuous army of the English had the greatest difficulty in taking the fort of Dig belonging to Ranjit Singh, and then laid siege to that of Bhartpur. Jaswant Rao Holkar ventured to plunder the country round the English army, and sent an officer of his, by name Amir Khan, with a body of twenty thousand horse, towards Hardwar. Amir Khan crossed the Ganges, and pillaged the country up to Muradabad and Sambhal. The English officers at Bareilly, with the little force they had with them, prepared to repel him. Some of the Afghan who had accompanied Amir Khan made a conspiracy against him. As he could not stand his ground, he fled, and having joined the camp of Jaswant Rao Holkar at Bhartpur, a great part of his army dispersed.

War raged for seven months between the English on one part and Raja Ranjit Singh and Jaswant Rao Holkar on the other, and more than fifteen thousand men were killed on both sides. The daily conflicts before Bhartpur form a narrative which is worth hearing, and on both sides such courage was shown as threw the chivalric stories of the ancients into oblivion. "Such battles nobody had seen in the world. nor the wisest men of the whole earth had heard of."

At last the English, according to the orders of their Governor General at Calcutta, pardoned Ranjit Singh for his faults, and gave him back the fort of Dig. They spent the rainy season at Mathura. Jaswant Singh Holkar fled to Lahore, and sought an asylum with Ranjit Singh, its ruler.

In 1220 A.H. (1805 A.D.), the brave General, Lord Lake,

marched towards Lahore, and having forded the Sutlej, pitched his tents on this side of the Biyah, twenty *kos* east of Lahore. Great alarm spread among the people of the Panjab. Without delay the Sikh chiefs around Lahore, in order to save their lives and property, joined the English army, and were received with favour. Consequently, Ranjit Singh, the ruler of Lahore, sent a mission of experienced men to express his submission, and ascertain the pleasure of the British Government. Through great humility and flattery, which politicians are enjoined to observe, he retained possession of his dominions. Moreover, it was through his mediation that peace was concluded between the English and Jaswant Rao Holkar.

The British Government granted some districts of the Dakhin, etc., part of Hindustan, to Jaswant Rao, and relieved the world from ravage and oppression. They also allotted some districts of the Dakhin and Malwa, and a portion of Hindustan, together with the fort of Gwalior, to Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia, and for a long time secured the people from unjust demands. At present, the city of Akbarabad, together with some districts of the province of Delhi, and the whole territory of Bundelkhand, is in their possession. The chiefs also of the Panjab and of the country bordering on the hills acknowledge submission to this powerful body. The administration of the British Government differs in no respect from that of the great Nawab Wazir, who is endowed with the grandeur of the pleiades.

MA'DANU-S SA'ADAT
OF
SAIYID SULTAN 'ALI

[The author gives in his Preface his name and paternity as Saiyid Sultan 'Ali ul Husaini ul Musawi us Safavi, and states that he was a native of Ardabil, in Azarbaijan, from whence he travelled eastward, and took up his "abode under the auspicious asylum of Nawab Shuja'u-d daula" at Lucknow. In the second year of the reign of Sa'adat 'Ali, in 1213 A.H. (1798 A.D.), he determined to write the history of India from the times of Timur to the death of the Emperor Muhammad Shah. He enumerates the authorities he has consulted: *Zafar-nama, Waki'at-i Babari, Tarikh-i Alfi, Firishta, 'Alam-arai 'Abbasi, Akbar-nama* of Abu-l Fazl, *Ma'dan-i Akhbar-i Ahmadi, Ikbal-nama, Tarikh o Sair-i Jahangiri, Tabakat-i Akbari,* the work of Khwaja Atabak Kazwini and others. The latter part of the work is particularly occupied with the affairs of the Nawabs of Oudh, and comes down to the seventh year of the reign of Sa'adat Ali, 1805 A.D.

Sir H. M. Elliot did not obtain a copy of this work, but the above notice has been drawn from a translation of the Preface and Table of Contents which is among his papers.]

MAJMA'U-L AKHBAR
OF
HARSUKH RAI

This compilation is the work of Harsukh Rai, son of Jiwan Das, son of Rai Basant Ram, a Sahkal Khatri.

Rai Basant Ram was Governor of Agra for many years, from the time that province was made over to Maharaja Jai Singh Sawai by Muhammad Shah, down to the decline of the Jat power. During this long interval of time, he is said, by his grandson, to have acquitted

himself with great credit in the estimation of all men. The author's great-grandfather, Dya Ram, was *diwan* to Mubarizu-l Mulk Nawab Sarbuland Khan. While he praises his own studious disposition, he censures the idleness of his contemporaries. He observes that most people of his time, whether from their slothful nature, or on account of their numerous worldly avocations, are averse to reading long and elaborate works of the great writers and historians, who in a style of correctness, and even of eloquence, have very beautifully written with their golden pens, and, by the aid of their wit and ability, given accounts of monarchs of past ages; that as the science of history is the means of gathering knowledge for wise men, and affords examples to intelligent observers; that as every narration respecting those who have flourished before our time is a precept which improves the understanding of sensible men, and every fact of former time is a precedent which increases the knowledge of inquiring persons; and that as the study of this science is very beneficial to kings and rulers, and also opens the eyes of the common people, by affording information in all respects useful to them; it had therefore been for a long time the ardent desire of this gleaner of crumbs from the table of liberal persons to compile a book in a very simple, intelligible, and concise style, which might form a collection of historical subjects and a depository of facts, embracing an account of the great Rajas and powerful Kings of the extensive country of Hindustan, some short sketches of the Princes of Persia from the Kaianian, Sassanian and other dynasties, who raised the standard of sovereignty on the surface of the earth before the promulgation of the Muhammadan religion; an account of the creation of Adam, a history of the Prophets, great Saints, the rising of the sun of the true religion, memoirs of the great Prophet, the benefactor of mankind, his holy Companions, sacred Imams, philosophers, pious men and the Muhammadan Kings who ruled over the countries of Iran, Turan, and Hindustan, and who, having caused the

khutba to be read and money coined in the name of Islam, erected the standard of power and prosperity in the four quarters of the world, a detail of the several climates, the celebrated cities, their rarities and wonders, the governors of the famous countries of the world, an account of the Europeans, the New World which was conquered by these wise people, a short detail of each tribe with its religion, commencing from the creation of the world. Such was the work he undertook to compile from abstracts taken from credible works and authentic narrations, with a view that the hearers and readers of it might, with a little attention, obtain acquintance with the history of the world. This object he was not able to accomplish, until he met with a patron in the person of Rai Sri Narain, his maternal uncle, on whom a ridiculous and fulsome eulogium follows, extending through two pages, which it is needless to repeat.

The author tells us that his work was compiled in the 1214th year of the Hijra era, or forty-second of Shah 'Alam, and the chronogram in the Preface, which is formed by combining *Majma'u-l Akhbar* with another word, gives also 1214 A.H.. (1799 A.D.); but as he carries down the history to the 1220th year of the Hijra (1805 A.D.), or the forty-eighth of Shah 'Alam, as appears from one of the translated Extracts which follow, it is probable that an incorrect date has been assumed, in order to make it accord with the title of the work. Though the work is a mere compilation, it is useful in many respects, and is well written. It is divided into eight books (*akhbar*), and several chapters (*khabr*), of which a full detail is given below.

The *Majma'u-l Akhbar* is not uncommon. I know five or six copies, of which the best is in the possession of Nawab Mian Faujdar Khan, of Bhopal, through whose kindness I obtained the copy in my possession.

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[The following Extracts were apparently translated by *munshis,* and received revision from Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS

The Jats of Bhartpur

Among the former chiefs of the tribe of Jats, Bajja Jat was pre-eminent. He was a *zamindar* of *mauza* Sansani, a village situated between Dig and Kumbher. He had in attendance on him a body of nearly one hundred horse, consisting of his relations. The strong fort of Thun was the place of his residence. He led a predatory life, and displayed great courage in every excursion. He died, leaving behind him three sons, named Churaman, Badan Singh, and Raja Ram.

The first-named son succeeded him in the chiefship of the tribe, and as his good fortune proved like waters richly fertilizing the field of his successful career in life, he, on the occurrence of the tumult which followed closely on the death of Aurangzeb, revolted, and thus laid the foundation of his fortune. Muhammad Farrukh Siyar, on ascending the throne, despatched Raja Jai Singh Sawai with an overpowering force to chastise Churaman, and as the Raja, after a siege of one year's duration, succeeded in reducing Churaman to the last extremity, the latter had sagacity enough to sow the seeds of prudence in the field of good fortune. By entering into a league with Saiyid Husain 'Ali Khan Barha, who was in charge of the entire administration of the affairs of the State, and jealous of the power of Raja Jai Singh, he rescued the store of his treasure and greatness from the shock of misfortune, which was likely to prove as severe as that of lightning. Raja Jai Singh was obliged to raise the siege of the fort of Thun, and return with malicious feeling engendered in him by the defeat of his object.[1] This circumstance made Churaman so arrogant, that the plant of his independent spirit grew up and touched the very heavens. At the time when Husain 'Ali Khan fought with the army of Muhammad Shah,

[1] [*See Vol. VII. (Original Ed.) pp.* 514, 532.]

Churaman was so presumptuous that he repeatedly fell on the camp of the Emperor, and engaged in plunder. He thus continued to incur public odium, till the fourth year of the reign of Muhammad Shah, when Raja Jai Singh and other *amirs* of note were despatched with an effective force to reduce the fort of Thun, and exterminate him. They employed their utmost exertions to effect the purpose, and as the earthly career of Churaman was at an end, his brother, Badan Singh, leagued with Raja Jai Singh, gave him all the information that might tend to the ruin of Churaman, and thereby enabled the Raja to open the gate of the strong fort. Churaman, on seeing his affairs desparate, burnt himself in the magazine of the fort. Raja Jai Singh levelled the fort to the ground, and caused it to be ploughed up by a yoke of asses.

Raja Badan Singh, through the interest of Raja Jai Singh, became the successor of Churaman, whose son, Muhkam Singh, forfeited the succession in consequence of his father's offence. Badan Singh, on obtaining the chiefship, built the forts of Bhartpur and Waira. The fort of Bhartpur was made very strong, if not impregnable. The ditch round it is so deep that even the imagination cannot pass one half of its depth. Its rampart is so wide that it can admit of the passage of several carriages at a time. Besides this, it is surrounded by forests.

It is said that Badan Singh was in the habit of swallowing every day quicksilver of the weight of a *pice*. He had hundreds of concubines and twenty sons. On feeling his sight defective in his latter days, and finding amongst his sons Suraj Mal to be the most sagacious and wise, he placed the reins of government in his hands, and retired from the cares of State to pass the remainder of his life in seclusion and peace, which he enjoyed up to the year 1174 A.H. (1760-1 A.D.), when he died. It is said of him that, in consequence of his numerous descendants,

he used to inquire always, when any one of them came into his presence, as to who the person was.

Suraj Mal, who, during the lifetime of his father, was entrusted with the entire administration of the affairs of the State, strongly fortified the posts of Kumbher and Dig; and on his father's death, when he attained absolute power, he employed his exertions for the extension of his territory. The declining state of the Empire of Dehli afforded him the means of making encroachments on the royal territories. In the reign of Ahmad Shah, he was on friendly terms with Waziru-l Mamalik Safdar Jang, and thereby placed his affairs on a firm basis. He afforded every aid and countenance to the schemes of Safdar Jang. In the year 1164 A.H. (1750-1 A.D.), when Safdar Jang directed a second time his army against Ahmad Khan Bangash, Suraj Mal acted in co-operation with him, at the head of an effective force. The war terminating in favour of Safdar-Jang, Suraj Mal obtained possession of the province of Agra, and became the master of the whole territories of Mewat, and a tract of land as far as the neighbourhood of Dehli, yielding more than two *krors* of rupees. This extension of his territories exalted his dignity to the very heavens, and contributed to augment the strength of his force to nearly one hundred thousand horse and foot. His subjects were in the enjoyment of all the blessings of a good government. In the year 1170 A.H. (1756-7 A.D.), when Ahmad Shah Abdali was on his march to Hindustan, most of the inhabitants of Dehli, both high and low, took shelter in the territories of Suraj Mal, who extended his protection towards them, and treated them all with the respect due to their respective ranks.

Jahan Khan, the Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Abdali, moved at the head of an overwhelming force to capture the fort of Kumbher, and Suraj Mal proceeded in an undaunted spirit to resist him. In the year 1173 A.H. (1759-60 A.D.) Ghaziu-d din Khan Wazir, being dismayed by the approach of Ahmad Shah Abdali

to Hindustan against the Mahrattas with whom he had entered into a league, took refuge with Suraj Mal, who received him courteously, and protected him for a time in his adversity. In this year, also, Suraj Mal took possession of the fort of Akbarabad from the Emperor of Dehli.

When the legitimate son of 'Alamgir the Second ascended the throne of his father in the East, under the title of Shah 'Alam, and Najibu-d daula Rohilla assumed the management of the affairs of State, and appointed Jawan Bakht, the eldest son of Shah 'Alam, as the heir apparent, Suraj Mal felt an ardent desire for the possession of Dehli, and with this object he marched early in the year 1178 A.H. (1764 A.D.) with a considerable force against that place in the spirit of predominant pride. Najibu-d daula, dreading the prowess and strength of Suraj Mal, entreated him in abject terms to make peace; but Suraj Mal refused, and prepared himself for action. After both armies were drawn up in battle array, Suraj Mal, with a small force, unfortunately advanced too far beyond his army to examine one of his batteries, and while standing between it and that of his enemy, a party which, after having been plundered by Suraj Mal's army, were returning to their camp, on recognizing him, made an attack on him and put him to death. This event brought on, in the twinkling of an eye, the discomfiture and dispersion of the immense force of Suraj Mal without a fight. A circumstance so unexpected can be ascribed to nothing else but to the decree of Providence, and victory, which is in its gift, fell to the lot of Najibu-d daula.

Suraj Mal, however, had several sons, among whom Jawahir Singh, the most sagacious, succeeded him. To avenge the death of his father, Jawahir Singh marched with a considerable force against Najibu-d daula, accompanied by Malhar Rao Mahratta and a body of the Panjab Sikhs. Najibu-d daula, taking shelter in the fort of Dehli, applied himself to strengthen the bastions and gates of the fort and city. Jawahir Singh encamped

round the tank of Kishan Das, ten miles distant from Dehli, and laid siege to the city. Cannonading and musketry continued for four months, when the report of the arrival of the Abdali troops disposed Najibu-d daula to purchase peace, and he offered concessions to the Mahrattas. The peace was concluded through the interposition of Malhar Rao, and both parties remained in their independent positions.

Late in the year 1179 A.H. (1766 A.D.) Raghu Mahratta came from the Dakhin, besieged Gohad, and demanded tribute from Jawahir Singh, which obliged the latter to depute to him, for the purpose of negotiating peace, Gosain Himmat Bahadur and his brother Amrao Gir, who had formerly, on the defeat of Nawab Shuja'u-d daula by the English, left the Nawab's service, and entered that of Jawahir Singh. They now, from avaricious motives, excited by the bribes offered them by the Mahrattas, deviated from rectitude, and promised Raghu to betray Jawahir Singh into his hands. Jawahir Singh, on learning of this treachery, despatched a portion of his army in which he could place confidence, with instructions to fall on them unawares, with a view to bring them to their senses. The two brothers, seeing the arrival of the troops in a hostile spirit against them, gave up all for lost, and took to flight with some of their immediate attendants. Their equipage and baggage were all carried off as plunder.

In short, Raja Jawahir Singh became master of most of the neighbouring territories. But in consequence of his having attained such glory and power, his pride was heightened into vanity, and his mind exalted with the imagination of extending his conquests far and wide. In the year 1182 A.H. (1768 A.D.) he called on Raja Madhu Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh Sawai, to surrender the *parganas* in the neighbourhood of Bhartpur.[2] But

[2][*See Studies In Indian History Part III—Chahar Gulzar Shuja'i*]

as Raja Madhu Singh did not attend to his call, Jawahir Singh quarrelled with him, and fitted out a large expedition. Under pretence of performing ablution in the lake near Ajmir, he marched in that direction. Madhu Singh, however, being aware of his hostile intentions, placed a select body of his troops under the command of Harsahai Khatri, a confidential dependent, with instructions to oppose Jawahir, who was prepared to take the field without any provocation. This Rajput force met Jawahir Singh in the neighbourhood of Jainagar while on his way back from the lake. An obstinate battle took place, and the gallant charges made by both parties occasioned numbers of slain.

In consequence of the bold and vigorous attacks of the valiant Rajputs, Raja Jawahir Singh's troops could not stand their ground. Raja Harsahai, Gunsahai (his brother-in-law), and most of the brave Rajputs displayed their valour, but fell at last on the field of battle. Confidence and courage failed Jawahir Singh. With a dejected heart he retreated towards Bhartpur, and became, in consequence of his ineffectual encroachment and disgraceful return, the subject of public ridicule. He at last glutted his vengeance by wresting the territory of Kamun from Raja Madhu Singh. He then proceeded from Bhartpur to Agra, where a villain, whose name is not known, put him to death while engaged in viewing an elephant-fight.

Jawahir Singh's brother, Ratan Singh (another son of Suraj Mal), succeeded him. This Prince remained constantly in a state of intoxication, and wasted his precious moments in pleasure and indolence. A few days after his accession, he felt seriously disposed to gain a knowledge of alchemy, and with this view made over a large quantity of gold to a *darwesh* of the name of Rupanand, who had given out that he was a very skilful alchemist. This individual, however, appropriated the gold to his own use, amusing Ratan Singh with evasive stories. When subterfuges on his part exceeded their

reasonable bounds, Ratan Singh threatened him with punishment; and the impostor, being apprehensive of the loss of his honour, if not his life, conducted him unattended by any servants to his own place, under pretence of showing him the alchemical discoveries made by him. On his arrival there, he put Ratan Singh to death by stabbing him with a knife. This event coming to the knowledge of the adherents of Ratan Singh, they immediately killed the *darwesh*. Ratan Singh ruled only nine months.

On his death, Kheri Singh, his son, only five years of age, was installed by the ministers of the State, and Nuwul Singh, son of Suraj Mal, was appointed regent; but one month afterwards, when Kheri Singh died, Nuwul Singh became independent, and placed himself on the *gaddi*.

This Prince, being desirous of extending his territories, wrested, in the year 1196 A.H. (1774 A.D.), the fort of Balamgarh from Ajit Singh, son of Bagu Jat. He also overcame the Imperial force which had been ordered to give support to Ajit Singh, and he became master of Sikandra and several other places belonging to the crown. These conquests made him assume an air of haughtiness, until Najaf Khan,[3] by command of His Majesty Shah 'Alam, hoisted the banner of bravery for his expulsion, and succeeded in wresting from him the possession of Faridabad. He waged war with Nuwul Singh in the neighbourhood of Hadal and Barsana. He was so fortunate that, notwithstanding a forest being situated to his disadvantage, he gained a complete victory over Nuwul Singh, who being thus doomed to sustain a defeat, fortified himself in the fort of Dig. Najaf Khan, in a short time and with little opposition, effected the restoration of all the usurped territories which were in possession of Nuwul Singh, even to the very walls of Akbarabad, and afterwards marched to besiege the fort

[3] [*See supra, Studies In Indian History, Part III.*]

of Dig. When the fort had been in a state of siege for two years, Nuwul Singh died.

Ranjit Singh, son of Suraj Mal, who was then at Bhartpur, on hearing of his brother's death, hastened to Dig, applied himself to strengthening the gates and bastions of the fort, and animated the courage of the besieged. He killed Mulla Ahmad Khan Rohilla, who had been employed by Nuwul Singh to protect the fort, but on Nuwul Singh's death aspired to the possession of it himself. It is through the exertions of Ranjit Singh, that the besieged held out for eleven months more, when, on the failure of supplies, Ranjit Singh, seeing the desperate state of his affairs, surrendered. A few days afterwards, Najaf Khan captured the fort of Kumbher; but the forts of Bhartpur and Waira, with some other places, remained in the possession of Ranjit Singh.

After the death of Najaf Khan, when the Mahrattas obtained a footing in his territories, Ranjit Singh professed subjection to Sindhia Patel, the commander-in-chief of the Mahratta force. Sindhia, being pleased with him, committed to his charge, on the occasion of the march of his army in the direction of Jainagar, the forts of Dig and Kumbher, which Najaf Khan had annexed to his own territories.

When, in the year 1218 A.H. (1803 A.D.), the British overcame the Mahrattas, and took possession of their territories, Ranjit Singh was prudent enough to acknowledge ostensibly the supremacy of the British; but in the following year, on the occasion of the march of the united force of the Mahratta chiefs, Daulat Rao Sindhia and Jaswant Rao Holkar, against the British, he joined the Mahrattas, in gratitude for their former good will and regard for him. When, in the latter part of the year, the British, after reducing, through the wisdom of their policy and sagacity, the strong forts of Dig and Kishangarh, gallantly determined to take the fort of Bhartpur, he with a valiant body of Jats marched boldly to resist them.

It is said that these Jats, in spite of the superior strength of the British, fell upon them regardless of life as moths of fire, committed great slaughter, and thus displayed their valour to the admiration of all who witnessed or heard of the fact. But when the rulers of Bengal and Bihar, the potentates of the Dakhin such as Haidar and Tipu Sultan, the Mahrattas and others equal to Rustam and Isfandiyar, have been worsted by the British army, what could be expected from that poor and helpless body? Their fight with the English is just as that of a musquito with an elephant, or of a moth with fire, a parrot with a hawk, or a goat with a lion! Indeed, these Englishmen emulate the great heroes who figure in ancient history.

The Mahratta chiefs were presumptuous enough to continue opposing and harassing the English, until such time as the most exalted General Lake, by his prudent strokes of policy, and every sort of kindness and regard, gained over Ranjit Singh to espouse the interests of the British. He restored to Ranjit Singh the forts of Dig and Kishangarh, and then made preparations for the expulsion of the Mahrattas. Ranjit Singh enjoyed a high name in every direction of the world by his attachment to the English. He died in the latter part of the year 1220 A.H. (1806 A.D.), leaving his name immortal in the pages of history.

The English Company

The Company, or the English merchants, sent their agents in ships laden with the productions of Europe for sale, and also with money in cash to purchase goods in Hindustan. They commenced their business in this country in the time of the Emperor Nuru-d din Jahangir, and obtained from him several houses for the residence of their agents in the port of Surat. Afterwards, by the Emperor's orders, they took several places from the Portuguese. Gradually they established their factories

in Bombay, Madras, and other maritime places in Hindustan.

In the reign of Muhammad Aurangzeb 'Alamgir, they obtained permission to build a factory in Bengal, and thus they laid the foundation of the city of Calcutta. As long as the rulers of India did not molest them, the agents of the Company paid taxes into the royal treasury, like other merchants; but when they were oppressed by Chanda Sahib, governor of Arcot, and Siraju-d daula, grandson of Mahabat Jang 'Aliwardi Khan, ruler of Bengal, they submitted their complaints to their King, and being reinforced by a royal army, they took possession of Arcot and Calcutta. By degrees they established their dominion in Bengal and Bihar. By the assistance of Almighty God, and their good fortune, and through the aid of their armies, they achieved, as has been before mentioned in this brief narrative, repeated victories over Shuja'u-d daula, and with great magnanimity and generosity restored the country to him which they had conquered. But as a measure of precaution, they placed a division of the English army on the frontier of his possessions, the pay of which was to be paid by him, and an intelligent and wise English officer was also appointed to remain with him.

After his death, the English received the districts of Benares, Jaunpur, Ghazipur, and Chunar, from Asafu-d daula, in consideration of his being confirmed in the *masnad,* and these places were annexed to the Company's possessions. When Asafu-d daula expired, after the quelling of the disturbances raised by Wazir 'Ali Khan, and the accession of Nawab Sa'adat 'Ali Khan to the *masnad,* one-half of the Oudh territory was ceded to the Company.

In the end of the year 1217 A.H. (1802 A.D.), Madhu Rao left this perishable world, and Baji Rao, son of Raghunath Rao, succeeded him. Having been defeated by Jaswant Rao Holkar, in consequence of his minister's

defection, he requested assistance from the Lord Marquis, the Governor-General, who sent his brother, General Wellesley, at the head of a formidable army for his succour. Having thus recovered the government of Poona, he was again established firmly upon the *masnad*. Daula Rao Sindhia, Jaswant Rao Holkar, and Raghuji Ghosla,[4] the Mahratta chiefs. having combined together, prepared to fight with the English army. The Governor-General, seeing them hostilely disposed, ordered General Wellesley and other officers at different stations, in 1803 A.D., corres- corresponding with 1218 A.H., to extinguish the fire of their opposition, and wrest from them the forts and the cities which they had conquered. He also sent large supplies of treasure in all directions, and, as has been mentioned in this work in the history of the Mahrattas, the English forces were everywhere victorious, and all the territory and forts of these rebels fell into the hands of the British warriors. Daulat Rao, Raghuji Ghosla, and other chiefs sued for peace, which they obtained, and enjoyed trans- quillity and ease. According to the Governor-General's orders, some of the conquered cities and forts were restored to them. Jaswant Rao Holkar, however, continued still to be refractory, and having left the Dakhin, he now kindled the fire of rebellion in Hindustan.

In those days also Ranjit Singh Jat revolted, and began to betray insubordination and insolence. Many English were slain in fighting with him, and on all sides round their camp the forces of Jaswant Rao commenced plundering. General Lake with great volour and prudence did not move his foot from the field of firmness and per- severance, and with great kindness and favour having restored the forts of Dig, Kishangarh, etc., to Ranjit Singh, and made an alliance with him, directed his whole efforts to the expulsion of Jaswant Rao, who, in his extreme purdence, always took care to keep himself at a distance

[4][*Usually "Bhosla" or "Bhonsla," but see Vol. VII. p.* 255. *Original Ed.*]

from the English artillery and fought after the Mahratta fashion. He proceeded to the territory of the Panjab, where the brave General also boldly pursued him to the environs of Lahore.

In the mean time, the Governor-General, the Lord Marquis, having been removed from his office, returned home, and the honourable, the great and noble Lord Cornwallis, the new Governor-General, the praise of whose excellent character and good conduct is beyond the extent of imagination, and in whose time and by whose sagacity and wisdom the conquest over Tipu Sultan was achieved, came from the east towards the western part of the country with the intention of quelling the disturbances and tumults which the Mahrattas had raised. But on the 5th of the month of Rajab, 1220 A.H., corresponding with the 10th of October, 1805 A.D., he died of some disease in the vicinity of Ghazipur; and all the English officers, as well as other people of all ranks, were much overwhelmed by sorrow at his death.

General Lake, according to the orders of the Government, purchased peace from Jaswant Rao Holkar, at the expense of some treasure and the restoration of the conquered territory to him, which belonged to the Rajputana states; after this, the General returned from the territory of the Panjab to Dehli.

In these days, the end of the year 1220 A.H., and the close of the forty-eight year of Shah 'Alam Badshah's reign (may his dominion and sovereignty be prolonged to eternity!) Maharaja Holkar came from the Panjab to Rajputana, and there having raised the standard of triumph and success, established his rule, and is now engaged in exacting contributions from the Rajas and Rais of that territory. The English retained the districts of Dehli and Agra in their own possession. General Lake triumphantly proceeded from the capital to the eastern part of the country, and Barlow having been appointed to officiate in place of the Governor-General,

took the management of the Government affairs into his hands.

In short, all the chiefs and proud rulers of Hindustan, whose heads touched the heavens, and who from their dignity and pomp claimed equality with Saturn, now having considered their safety to lie in repentance and obedience, could not raise their heads from their knees out of respect to this powerful people, and all the rebellious and turbulent characters who always scratched the head of pride and vanity with the nails of tumult and quarrel, put the cap of their obstinacy upon the ground of submission, and did not place their foot beyond the bounds of respect to this body of wise men, who, from their great humanity and liberality have subdued every one of their enemies. Whoever sought their protection was much honoured, respected, and treated with great kindness, and they fixed an allowance for his maintenance. . .

KASHIFU-L AKHBAR
OF
'INAYAT HUSAIN

This "Revealer of News" was composed by 'Inayat Husain of Mahrard for the instruction of his son, Imdad Husain, and the edification of some of his friends, and occupied him nine years. There is nothing whatever in it to warrant so much waste of time, for the historical portion is a mere transcript from his predecessors without a word of novelty. The geographical chapter is most useful, though even in that there is little not to be found in the *Hadikatu-l Akalim*. 'Inayat Husain does not himself mention his authorities, but the transcriber of the copy I have used adds in a postscript the monstrous assertion that the author has consulted no less than four hundred and eighty-four works in the course of his compilation. This information he professes to have derived from the author himself.

The exact year of completion is not mentioned, but as notice is taken of the death of Shah 'Alam, and the accession of Akbar II., the work must have been completed subsequent to 1220 A.H. (1805 A.D.). The *Kashifu-l Akhbar* is not divided into books and chapters, but the most prominent divisions and subjects are the following. Some miscellaneous matters, such as a "history of inventions," are necessarily omitted in this abstract of contents.

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SIZE—Folio, 425 pages, each containing 25 lines

There is nothing in the volume worth translation in this place.

I know of only one copy of the *Kashifu-l Akhbar*, which was transcribed in 1263 A.H. (1847 A.D.) for Nawab Daula Saiyid Muhammad 'Ali Khan Bahadur, by Muhammad 'Arfan 'Ali of Bareilly. It is clean and correct.

ZUBDATU-L AKHBAR
OF
UMRAO SINGH

This work is an abridgment of the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh*, by Umrao Singh, of Benares, continued down to the accession of Muhammad Akbar II., or rather to the ap-

pointment of Sir E. Colebrooke as one of the Commissioners of the "Ceded and Conquered Provinces," an era of importance to the author, as he seems to have been employed by the British Government in the Revenue Department. The work opens in a manner which would lead us to suppose it the production of a Musulman rather than a Hindu.

The *Zubdatu-l Akhbar* is divided into seven Books, of which the first five are abstracted from the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh,* a portion of his labour which the author tells us occupied him fifteen days. He also informs us that he was fond of studying history, and reading Arabic and Persian works, and was seldom engaged except in these agreeable occupations. One day, after reading the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh,* it came into his head that he would abridge that work, because he found it tedious to persue so long a history, which was comprised in 656 pages, each numbering 20 lines, and he wishes to save others the trouble he had experienced in turning over so many leaves.

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Preface, p. 1.—Book I. Description of Hindustan and the *subas* and *sarkars* dependent on Dehli, with a statement of the revenues collected from each, p. 4; II. The Kauravas and Pandavas, p. 29; III. The Hindu Rajas from the time of Parichit, including an account of Bikramajit, p. 45; IV. The Muhammadan Sovereigns of Ghazni, Lahore, and Dehli, including the Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Slave Kings, Khiljis, Saiyids and Lodis, p. 77; V. The Timurian Dynasty from Babar down to the close of Aurangzeb's reign, including an account of the Sur Afghan Dynasty, p. 123; VI. From the reign of Bahadur Shah to the death of Shah 'Alam, including an account of Nadir Shah, the Abdalis, Rohillas, Mahrattas, and English, p. 233; VII. Accession of Muhammad Akbar II., the capture of the forts of 'Aligarh, Kamona,

etc., and the duration of reigns from Judhishthar to Shah 'Alam, p. 556.

This work contains nothing in matter or manner worthy of translation.

The only copy which I know of the *Zubdatu-l Akhbar* is in the possession of the *Sadr Bakhshi* of 'Aligarh. It contains 612 pages, with 16 lines to the page.

MUNTAKHAB-I KHULASATU-T TAWARIKH
OF
RAM PARSHAD

This is not an abridgment of the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh*, as the name might lead us to suppose, but a brief abstract History of India, made without any reference to that work.

The *Muntakhab* has no Preface, and begins without any preliminary praises; but at the end, the copyist says that it was composed by a person named Ram Parshad. It is of no use except to the merest beginner. It is chiefly devoted to the Timurian Sovereigns—one page only being given to the period which preceded them. The work ends with the accession of Akbar II., and contains 40 pages of 15 lines each; but some tables are added from the *Jam-i Jam* of Saiyid Ahmad Khan, by which the volume is expanded to 84 pages.

The only copy I know of belongs to Nawab 'Ali Muhammad Khan of Jhajjar.

AKHBAR-I MUHABBAT
OF
NAWAB MUHABBAT KHAN

A general History of India from the time of the Ghaznivides to the accession of Muhammad Akbar II., at the close of the year 1806.

The author Nawab Muhabbat Khan is not to be confounded with his contemporary and namesake, the second son of Hafiz Rahmat, favourably known as the author of *Raizu-l Muhabbat,* a grammer and dictionary of the Pushtu language, written in Persian. A manuscript of his work in the East India Library has been much quoted by Dr. Bernhard Dorn, in his Annotations to the History of the Afghans. The same writer is author also of the poem called *Asrar-i Muhabbat,* having called his two chief works, like the author to whom this article is devoted, after his own name—*Muhabbat.* M. Garcin de Tassy devotes an article to him in his *Histoire de la Litterature Hindoui et Hindoustani.*

The style of the author of the *Akhbar-i Muhabbat* is slovenly and inaccurate, as is often observable in works written in India by foreigners from Afghanistan. He dwells with peculiar pleasure upon the deeds of his ancestors, and is very proud of a lineage, which he traces through Diler Khan, Darya Khan, Saul, Abraham and Noah, up to Adam.

The work is in too abridged a form to be of much use, except towards the end, where the author expands the narrative, giving an unusually minute account of the Durrani invasions, and some of the transactions of Shah 'Alam's reign, to which he assigns only thirteen years, contrary to the usual mode of reckoning. Certain portions also of the reigns of Jahangir and his successors are enlarged upon, when he has the opportunity of recounting the exploits of Darya Khan, Khan Jahan Lodi, Bahadur Khan, Diler Khan, and other heroes of the author's race and family.

In his Preface he quotes several authorities, as *Akbar-nama* by Abu-l Fazl, an anonymous history of Shahabu-d din Ghori, an anonymous history of 'Alau-d din Khilji, the *Tarikh-i Afaghana* by Husain Khan, the *Zafar-nama* by Sharafu-d din, the *Timur-nama* of Hatifi, Babar's Memoirs, the *Tarikh-i Akbari* by 'Ata Beg Kazwini, the *Kitab-i Akbar-Shahi* by Shaikh Illahdad Faizi, the

Tabakat-i Akbari by Nizamu-d din Ahmad, the *Ikbal-nama* of Mu'tamad Khan, the Autobiography of Jahangir, the *Tarikh-i Shah-Jahani* by Waris Khan, the *Tarikh-i 'Alamgiri* by Muhammad Kazim, two works under the name of *Tarikh-i Bahadur-Shahi*, the *Tarikh-i Muhammad-Shahi, Ahmad-Shahi, Shah 'Alam-Shahi*, the *Tarikh-i Kashmiri* by Maulana Shahabadi, the *Mahabharat, Ramayana, Vishnu Purana*, the *Bhagavala, Jog-bashisht, Singhasan Battisi, Padmawat*, the *Rajavali* of Bhao Ram, and *Raja Tarangini*.

Most of these are of ordinary currency, and are often quoted in Prefaces without being read. The perusal, and even the existence of the anonymous works, may be doubted. He mentions also the history of Nasiru-d din and Mahmud by 'Unsuri, and the *Tarikh-i Firoz-Shahi* by 'Izzu-d din, though why either should be quoted it is impossible to say, inasmuch as only two lines are devoted to Firoz Shah's reign, and only thirty pages to the entire Khilji and Tughlik dynasties. In the Ghaznivide dynasty he follows the words and the defective arrangement of the *Khulasatu-t Tawarikh*, which he does not quote, ascribing, like that work, only seven reigns to the whole dynasty. This is another instance of the shameless fraud of which we have shown the author of the *Khulasat* himself to have been guilty.

He informs us that in the latter part of his history he benefited by the verbal information derived from his father, uncle, brothers, and other trustworthy persons. He quotes also two new works, the *Darya-i Dileri* and the *Risala-i Dileri*, which most probably relate to the achievements of his ancestors.

[There can be no doubt that he either used the *Tarikh-i Manazila-i Futuh*, the *Tarikh-i Ibrahim Khan*, and the *Nigar-nama-i Hind*, or if he did not, that he and the authors of these works all copied from the same original authority.]

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SIZE—8vo., containing 782 pages, of 17 lines each.

I have seen but one copy of this work, and that is in the possession of one of the descendants of the author.

[The Extracts, translated by a *munshi,* were revised by Sir H. M. Elliot.]

EXTRACTS

Foundation of the city of Calcutta by Chanak (Job Charnock), chief of the English tribe

Calcutta formerly was only a village, the revenue of which was assigned for the expenses of the temple of Kali Devi which stands there. As in the Bengali language the words Karta and Kat mean the proprietor of that Kali, in course of time, by the elision of the *i,* it began to be called Calcutta.[1] I now proceed to an account of the foundation of the city, and how the Honourable Company's factory was maintained at Gholghat[2] and Mughalpura, near Hughli. Suddenly, at about sunset, when the English officers were at their

[1] *This is not very logical or comprehensible.*
[2] *Called Golgot by Orme.—"Fragments," p.* 281.

dinner, a violent bore arose in the river, and fell with such force upon the shore that the factory was in danger of falling down. The officers ran out in great consternation and saved their lives. All the goods and property were destroyed by the water, and a few men and several animals lost their lives. Chanak, their chief, having purchased the Benarasi Bagh, which belonged to the Company's agent at Gholghat, near the city, cut down the trees, and founded a factory, the buildings of which were raised two and three stories high. When the compound was made, and the rooms were ready to be roofed in, the nobles and chief men among the Saiyids and Mughals, who were great merchants, went to Mir Nasir, *Faujdar* of Hughli, and declared that if the strangers were allowed to ascend their lofty houses, they, the Mughals, would be greatly dishonoured, seeing that the persons of their females would be exposed to view. The *faujdar* sent a report of the matter to Nawab Ja'far Khan, and directed the Mughals and other principal inhabitants of the place to accompany it. They all complained before the Nawab, who issued orders to the *faujdar*, to the effect that not another brick or timber should be allowed to be raised. The *faujdar*, immediately on receipt of the order, prohibited all the masons and carpenters from carrying on the work, and ordered that no one should go to the factory. Thus the work remained unfinished. Chanak, with great indignation, prepared to fight; but as he had a very small force, and only one vessel was present at the time, while the Mughals, who were joined by the powerful *faujdar*,[3] had assembled in great number, he saw no advantage in taking any hostile measure against them, and was obliged to weigh anchor. He had a burning glass in his ship, with which, by concentrating the sun's rays, he burnt the river face of the city as far as Chandernagore.

[3] *His name was Abdu-l Ghani.—See Orme's "Fragments," p.* 281.

With a view to avenge this injury, the *faujdar* wrote to the police station at Makhua, with orders to stop the vessel, prepared an iron chain, each link of which was ten *sirs* in weight, and having made it in length equal to the breadth of the river, kept it ready and made it firm to the wall of the fort. The chain being extended across the river, the vessel was thus intercepted; but Chanak cut through the chain with a European sword, and went on his way[4]. He took his vessel out to sea, and proceeded towards the Dakhin.

In those days the Emperor Aurangzeb was in that part of the kingdom, straitened by his enemy for provitions, and his camp was reduced to starvation. Upon this the chief of the factory in the Carnatic sent vessels laden with grain, showing great consideration for the throne, and proved of great service. The Emperor was much pleased with the English people, and desired to know the Honourable Company's wishes. The English chief requested him to grant a *sanad* and *farman*, giving permission to establish factories in all parts of the kingdom, and particularly in Bengal. The request was granted, and the royal orders exempting the Honourable Company's ships from custom duties, fixing a sum of three thousand rupees as a *peshkash* to be presented to the *bakhshi* of the port, and giving permission for the establishment of factories, were issued. Chanak returned with the royal *farmans* from the Dakhin to Bengal. He sent his agents with the *peskhash* and some presents to Ja'far Khan, and obtained permission to erect a factory in Calcutta. Chanak accordingly erected a new factory at the place where he anchored after returning from the Dakhin, which is known by the name of Chanak. He founded the city and populated it, and gave a stimulus to the trade of Bengal. That

[4]*In the account of Job Charnock in Orme's "Fragments," p.* 282, *this forcing of the iron chain at Tilianpura is mentioned.*

factory is well known to this day by the name of the Old Fort.

Calcutta is a large city, situated on the banks of the Bhagirati. It is a large port, and the great mart of the trade of the Honourable Company and their dependents. Small vessels called *salap* (sloops?) every year trade with this port from China, Europe, and other countries, and almost at all times some are at anchor there. In these days this city is the residence of the chief English officers, and the city and its dependencies are considered their property. The buildings are built entirely of masonry, plastered with lime or mud. The land, on account of its vicinity to the sea, is very brackish and damp, and hence the houses are raised two or three stories high. The lower apartments are not fit to be inhabited. The buildings are like those of Europe, airy, spacious, and commodious. The city is very large, and all constructed of brick. Besides the English, the Bengalis, Armenians, and other inhabitants, are also opulent merchants. The water of the wells, on account of its brackish quality, is not drinkable. If any person drinks it, he is sure to suffer. In the hot and rainy seasons it becomes peculiarly bitter and saline, and consequently drinking water is procured from tanks. The sea is forty *kos* distant from the city, and the ebb and flow of the tide occur every day and every night. At full moon the bore rushes in for three days with unusual violence. It presents a curious and wonderful scene; it throws some boats on the shore, and breaks others to pieces; those which are not near the shore receive no injury from it, and therefore no boat, large or small, is left there unanchored. In the same manner, towards the end of the lunar month, the water rolls in with great violence for three days and nights. These high floods are called *homan* in the Bengali language, and that which takes place daily is termed *jowar-bhata*.

A mud fort towards the south, outside the city, constructed after the English model, is very marvellous.

Its praise is beyond all expression; it is well worth seeing. The wall which encircles it appears in every direction low from the outside, just like the embankment of a tank; but looking at it from the inside it appears high. Very large and lofty buildings are erected within it, and much skill is shown in the entire construction of this fort. There are many other wonderful and excellent works in this city. As regards the beauty of the buildings and various novelties, there is no city like this in the whole of Hindustan, except Shah-Jahanabad, which is incomparable. Its only defects are that the air is very insalubrious, the water brackish, and the soil damp, to such a degree that the floors of the houses, although made of bricks and lime, are still, from the excess of moisture, always damp, and the walls also are wet to the height of two or three cubits. For four months in the winter the climate is not so unhealthy; but for eight months during the summer and rainy seasons it is very injurious.

Calcutta is a wonderful city, in the country of Bang.
It is a specimen of both China and Farang.
Its buildings are heart-attracting and delightful.
Their heads are exalted to the height of the sky.
The decorations executed in them by skilful persons
Exhibit a variety of good colours and beautiful
drawings.
From the beauty of the works of the European artists.
The senses of the spectator are overpowered.
The hat-wearing Englishmen who dwell in them
All speak the truth and have good dispositions.
As are the dwellings, so are their occupants.
How can I sufficiently indite their praises?
The roads made of pounded brick are so level,
That the morning breezes sweep away all the dirt
from them.
In all the lanes persons whose faces are like the moon
take their walks,

So that you would say the earth was bathed in moonlight.
One is like the moon, the other like the planet Jupiter,
The third shows a beauty like that of Venus.
As a multitude of persons like the planets roam in every direction,
The streets take the resemblance of the Milky Way.
You will see, if you go to the *bazar*, all the excellent things of the world.
All things which are produced in any part of the inhabited world
Are found in its *bazar* without difficulty.
If I attempt to write in praise of the marvels of the city,
The pen will refuse its office.
But it is well known to all of every degree
That it combines the beauties of China and Farang.
The ground is as level as the face of the sky,
And the roads in it are as straight as the line of the equator.
People go out to walk on them,
And there they meet together like the planets.
Such a city as this in the country of the Bengalis
Nobody has seen or heard of in the world.

Account of Farasdanga

Chandernagore, *alias* Farasdanga, is twelve *kos* from Calcutta, and there is a factory in it belonging to the French Christians. It is a small town on the banks of the Bhagirati. An officer on the part of the King of France remains there to govern the town and manage the commercial affairs of the place. The English have no concern with it. In the same manner, Chochra (Chinsura) is in possession of the tribe of Walandiz (Hollanders). This place is a little to the south of the port of Hughli, and is one *kos* to the north of Farasdanga. In like manner, Seorampur (Serampore), which

is also situated on the same stream, and opposite to Chanak, has a factory of the tribe of Danamar (Denmark), by which name the station itself is sometimes called. In these places no other rule prevails than that of the nation which owns the factories.

I again resume my original subject. Nawab Ja'far Khan, towards the close of his life, built on his own property, which lay to the east of the city of Murshidabad, a *ganj,* a *katra,* a mosque, a minaret, a reservoir, and a large well. He also raised his tomb at the foot of the stairs of the mosque, with the view that by that means it might not soon get injured, and that by the fortunate contiguity of the mosque, prayers might constantly be made in his name. As his end approached, having no son, he appointed as his representative and successor Sarfaraz Khan, his daughter's son, whom he had brought up from infancy, and consigned to his care all public treasure, the buried wealth, furniture, and all the privileges appertaining to the Nizam and the Emperor.

The Sixth Year of the Reign of Ahmad Shah

In this year, 'Imadu-l Mulk (Ghaziu-d din), having secured the concurrence of Malhar Mahratta, attacked Suraj Mal Jat, who was one of the dependents of Safdar Jang. Suraj Mal, having taken refuge in one of his forts, wrote to Ahmad Shah and Intizamu-d daula, representing that if 'Imadu-l Mulk, joined by the Mahrattas, should acquire power, he would assuredly ruin the Empire as well as the Wazarat. Intizamu-d daula saw the evil, and persuaded the Emperor to proceed, on pretence of hunting, towards Sikandra, where Holkar Mahratta suddenly made an attack upon the royal army. Ahmad Shah with his mother, Intizamu-d daula, and some other followers, fled. All the royal camp equipage and the insignia of royalty were plundered by the Rajputs. Malika Zamaniya, the daughter of Farrukh Siyar, with other ladies of the royal household, were captured by the Mahratta and received into his

zenana, and the honour of the family of Timur received a deadly wound.[5]

'Imadu-l Mulk, on receipt of this intelligence, abandoned the siege of the Jat's forts, and in company with Malhar Rao Holkar and Samsamu-d daula, the commandant of artillery, returned to Dehli. There, in concert with the chief officers of the throne, he first killed Intizamu-d daula, his maternal uncle, and then assumed the rank of *wazir* for himself, under the title of *Ghaziu-d din Khan.* He took Ahmad Shah and his mother prisoners, and treated them with every indignity. The pen now turns to other matters, and, if God please, the present subject shall be hereafter resumed.

The Muhammadans and Christians in Malibar and the Dakhin

Let it not be hidden from the sun-resembling minds of those who understand the value of the gems of intelligence, that, previous to the rise of Muhammadanism, the Jews and the Christians had intercourse, as merchants, with most of the ports of the Dakhin, such as Palniar[6] and others. Having become familiar with the people of that country, they established their residence in some of the cities, and built houses and gardens.

In this manner they sojourned for many years. When the great star of Muhammadanism appeared, and the rays of that world-enlightening sun shone from the east to the west, gradually the countries of Hindustan and the Dakhin were also benefited by the light of the Muhammadan law, and intercourse of the Musulmans

[5]*Grant Duff (History of the Mahrattas, vol. ii. p.* 78) *says merely that the baggage was plundered. Scott says that after the outcry and plunder, the ladies were released and furnished with an escort to Dehli.—Scott, History of the Deccan, vol. ii. p.* 229.

[6]*Perhaps Palnad, the name of the district in which Calicut is situated.*

with that country began. Many of the kings and rulers of that country espoused the Muhammadan faith. The Rajas of the ports of Goa, Dabal, and Chand, etc., allowed all the Musulmans who came there from the different parts of Arabia to settle on the sea-shore, and treated them with great honour and respect. For this cause the Jews and Christians burned with the fire of envy and malice. But when the countries of the Dakhin and Gujarat came into the possession of the Kings of Dehli, and Islam was established in them, the Europeans put the seal of silence on their lips, and never uttered a word of animosity or opposition, till at length, about the year 900 A.H. (1495 A.D.), when weakness and disorder found their way into the government of the Sultans of the Dakhin, the Portuguese Christians received orders from their King to build their forts on the shore of the Indian Ocean. In the year 904 A.H. (1499 A.D.) four ships of the same people arrived at the ports of Kandaria[7] and Kalikot (Calicut), and having made themselves acquainted with the circumstances of the place, they returned to their own country. Next year six vessels came and anchored at Kalikot. The Portuguese petitioned the chief of the place, who was called Samuri (Zamorin), to prohibit the Muhammadans from intercourse with Arabia, remarking that they would benefit him much more than the Muhammadans could. The Samuri, however, gave no heed to their prayers, but the Christians began to deal harshly with the Muhammadans in all their transactions. At last the Samuri, being provoked gave orders that the Christians should be slain and plundered. Seventy persons of rank were

[7] *The passage of Firishta, from which this account seems to be taken, and which is abstracted from the Tuhfatu-l Mujahidin (Briggs, vol. iv. p. 534), has "Koilad;" but the lithographed original, which, as usual, differs very much from the translation, has "Kandaria."*

destroyed among the Christians, and those who remained embarked on the vessels, and thus saved themselves. They landed near the city of Koji (Cochin), the chief of which was at hostility with the Samuri. They obtained his permission to build a fort, which they completed hurriedly in a very short time. They demolished a mosque on the sea-shore, and made a Christian church of it. This was the first fort which the Christians built in India.

With the same expedition they built a fort at Kanur (Cananore), and to their entire satisfaction engaged in the trade of pepper and dry ginger, preventing others from engaging in the same traffic. On this account the Samuri raised an army, and having killed the son of the chief of Cochin, plundered the country and returned. The heirs of those who were slain again collected their forces, raised the standard of sovereignty, and restored the population of the country to its former state. By the advice of the Firingis they built ships of war, and the chief of Cananore followed their example. This excited the anger of the Samuri, who lavished immense treasure upon an army raised for the purpose of attacking Cochin; but as the Firingis always gave their assistance to its chief, the Samuri returned twice unsuccessful. He was at last obliged to send his ambassadors to the Kings of Egypt, Jedda, Dakhin. and Gujarat, complaining to them of the outrages of the Christians, and imploring their aid. He also at the same time represented their disrespect towards Islam, and thus excited the wrath as well as the zeal of those Princes. The Sultan of Egypt. Mansur Ghori, sent one of his officers named Amir Husain with thirteen ships (*ghrabs*) full of fighting men and munitions of war towards the coasts of Hindustan. Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat also prepared several ships to oppose the Firingis, and despatched them from the ports of Diu, Surat, Goa, Dabal, and Chand. The Egyptian vessels touched first at Diu, and joining those of Gujarat, sailed towards Chand, where the Firingis had

assembled. This force was augmented by forty vessels of the Samuri, and some from the port of Dabal. When the junction was effected, a fire-ship of the Firingis, without being observed, suddenly fell upon their rear, and the whole surface of the water was instantly in a blaze. Malik Ayaz, the chief of Diu, and Amir Husain, prepared to oppose the enemy, but all to no avail. Several Egyptian ships were taken by the enemy, numerous Muhammadans drank the sweet water of martyrdom, and the Firingis returned victorious to their port.

It was during these days that Sultan Salim of Rum obtained a victory over the Ghori Sultans of Egypt, and thus their dynasty closed. The Samuri, who was the originator of all these disturbances, was disheartened, and the Firingis obtained complete power; so much so, that in the month of Ramazan, 915 A.H. (Dec. 1509 A.D.), they came into Kalikot, set the *Jama'-masjid* on fire, and swept the city with the broom of plunder. Next day, the Palnadis collected in large numbers, and falling upon the Christians, killed five hundred men of rank, and many were drowned in the sea. Those who escaped the sword fled to the port of Kulim (Coulon). Having entered into friendly relations with *zamindar* of that place, they erected a fortress for their protection about half a *farsakh* from the city.

In the same year they took the fort of Goa, belonging to Yusuf 'Adil Shah, who retook it by stratagem; but after a short time, the Firingis, having bribed the governor of the place with large sums of gold, again became its masters, and they made the fort, which was exceedingly strong, the seat of their Government. This made sorrow and grief prey upon the health of the Samuri, who expired in 921 A.H. (1515 A.D.). His brother, who succeeded him, rolled up the carpet of destruction, and pursued the path of friendship with the Firingis. He gave them ground for a fort near the city of Kalikot, and took an agreement from them that he should be

allowed to send four ships laden with pepper and dry ginger to the ports of Arabia. For some time the Firingis observed these terms; but when the fort was completed, they prohibited his trading in those articles, and began again to practise all kinds of tyranny and persecution upon the followers of Islam.

In like manner, the Jews of Kranghir (Cranganore), observing the weakness of the Samuri, advanced their foot beyond the proper limit, and made a great many Muhammadans drink the cup of martyrdom. The Samuri, repenting of his concessions, marched towards Cranganore, and so entirely extirpated the Jews that not a trace of them was found in that land. After this, joined by all the Musulmans of Palnad, he proceeded to Kalikot, and laid siege to the fort of the Firingis, which he reduced with great difficulty. This increased the power and pride of the Palnadis, who, according to the terms of the original agreement with the Firingis, began to send their ships full of pepper, dry ginger, etc., to the ports of Arabia.

In the year 938 A.H. (1531 A.D.) the Firingis founded a fort at Jaliat, six *kos* from Kalikot, and prevented the sailing of the Palnadi vessels. About the same time, during the reign of Burhan Nizam Shah, the Christians built a fort at Rivadanda, near the port of Chaul, and took up their residence there. In the reign of Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat, 941 A.H. (1534 A.D.), they took possession of the ports of Swalh, Daman and Diu, which belonged to the Kings of Gujarat, and in the year 943 A.H. (1536 A.D.) they fully established themselves at Cranganore by force of arms.

At this time Sultan Salim of Rum determined to expel the Firingis from the ports of India, and make himself master of them. With this view, in the year 944 A.H. (1537 A.D.), he despatched his minister, Sulaiman Badshah, in command of one hundred vessels, and he, having wrested the port of Aden from Shaikh 'Amr, son of Shaikh Daud, whom he put to death, sailed to the port

of Diu, and there made preparations for war. He was nearly victorious, but, for want of provisions and treasure, he was obliged to return unsuccessful to Rum.

In the year 963 A.H. (1556 A.D.) the Tarsas (Christians) were in possession of the ports of Hurmuz, Muskat, Sumatra, Malacca, Mangalore, Negapatam, Barcelore, Ceylon, and Bengal, to the very borders of China. In all these places they built their forts. But Sultan 'Ali Hai captured the fort of Sumatra from them, and the chief of Ceylon also, having subdued the Firingis, expelled them from his dominions. The Samuri, chief of Kalikot, being much harassed, sent his ambassadors to 'Ali 'Adil Shah and Murtaza Nizam Shah, instigating them to wage a holy war against the Firingis and turn them out of their country.

In 979 A.H. (1570 A.D.) the Samuri besieged the fort of Jaliat, and Nizam Shah and 'Adil Shah besieged that of Rivadanda. The former, through his courage, was successful in capturing the fort; but the latter, on account of the infidelity of their servants, who were deceived by the temptations which the Firingis offered them, returned without fulfilling their object.

From this time the Christians became more audacious in their persecution of the Muhammadans, in so far that they stretched out their rapacious hands to plunder on their return from Jedda some ships of the Emperor Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar, which had sailed to Mecca without their permission, and they treated the Musulmans with great severity and contempt. They burnt down the port of 'Adilabad Farain, which belonged to 'Adil Shah, and entirely destroyed it. In the guise of merchants, they also came to Dabal, and wished, by cunning and deceitful means, to obtain possession of it; but its chief, Khwaja 'Aliu-l Malik, a merchant of Shiraz, being aware of their views, killed one hundred and fifty of their men of rank, and devoted himself to extinguish the fire of mischief.

Establishment of the English Power in India

Be it known to men of curiosity that from the date that the ships of the Emperor Jalalu-d din Muhammad Akbar were seized by the Christians, the sending of vessels to the ports of Arabia and Persia was entirely closed, not only in the Dakhin and Bengal, but in other provinces of Hindustan, because it was considered beneath the royal dignity to enter into treaties with the Firingis, and to send them without entering into any understanding was to throw lives and property into danger. The Emperor's nobles, however, such as Nawab 'Abdu-r Rahim Khan-khanan, and others, having entered into an agreement with them, used to send their own ships, and affairs continued in this course for some time. When the Emperor Nuru-d din Muhammad Jahangir ascended the throne of Dehli, there existed great discord and animosity between the Christians of Portugal, France, etc. Thirsting after the blood of each other, they read together the same evil book of hatred and malice. Contrary to the manner in which they had been treated, the Emperor granted the English a spot in Surat for the erection of a factory. This was the first settlement which the English made on the coasts of India. Beforé this, they also occasionally brought their cargoes to the ports of Hindustan, and having sold them there, returned to their native country. Afterwards, they also began to establish their factories at different places in the Dakhin and Bengal. In the time of Aurangzeb 'Alamgir, they founded the city of Calcutta, an account of which has been given above, and requires no repetition.

Battle of Nawab Muzaffar Jang, son of Nawab Nizamu-l Mulk Asaf Jah's daughter, with Nawab Anwaru-d din Khan, of Gopamau, a decendant of Roshan Islam Khan

Nawab Muzaffar Jang, grandson of Nawab Nizamu-l Mulk Asaf Jah, at the instigation of Husain Dost Khan, *alias* Chanda, a resident of Arkat (Arcot), joined the

French of Phuljari (Pondicherry), and invaded Anwaru-d din Khan Shahamat Jang of Gopamau, who had been governor of Arkat from the time of the said Nawab Nizamu-l Mulk, with the intention of wresting the place from him. A great battle ensued. Nawab Shahamat Jang, however, having fought very boldly, and given proof of his valour, fell in the field. Nawab Nizamu-d daula Nasir Jang, the second son of Nawab Asaf Jah, who had succeeded him in the chiefship of the Dakhin after his death, on receiving the news of the defeat of his sister's son, marched to punish Muzaffar Jang with a body of 70,000 horse and a *lac* of foot-soldiers. Having reached the port of Phuljari, he engaged in battle on the 26th of Rabi'u-l akhir, 1163 A.H. (24th March, 1750 A.D.), and became victorious. Muzaffar Jang was captured alive. Nizamu-l Mulk passed the whole rainy season in Arkat.

The French of Phuljari, having made a confederacy with Himmat Khan and other Afghan chiefs of the Carnatic, and servants of Nizamu-d daula, made them blind to the obligations they owed to their master, with the temptation of land and riches. These ungrateful people prepared to take cunning and deceitful measures, and joining with the Christian French of Phuljari, made an attack in the night of the 16th Muharram, 1164 A.H. (19th Nov. 1750 A.D.). They made Nawab Nizamu-d daula drink the red cup of martyrdom, and after his death the said Afghans and French raised Muzaffar Jang to the chiefship of the Dakhin. This Nawab, with a body of the Afghans, went to Phuljari, and having employed a great number of the Christian French, purchased their support of himself. In the same year he proceeded with an army of the Afghans and the French to Haidarabad, and passing through Arkat, entered the territory of the former tribe.

By the revolution of time a difference arose between Muzaffar Jang and the Afghans, which turned to open hostility. On the 17th Rabi'u-l awwal of the said year,

both parties prepared for battle. On one side stood Muzaffar Jang and the French, and on the other the Afghans. Himmat Khan and the other Afghan chiefs suffered the consequences of ingratitude, and were slain. Muzaffar Jang also, having received a wound in his eye-ball, hastened to his grave. After this the French entered the service of Amiru-l Mamalik Salabat Jang, the third son of Asaf Jah, and having obtained possession of Shikakul (Chicacole), Rajbandar, etc., they acquired great strength. Their sway extended to different parts of the Dakhin. For a long time they had kept up an intercourse with this province, but nobody took them into service. Muzaffar Jang was the first who employed them, and brought them into land belonging to Muhammadans.

When the French had reached this degree of power, the English, who are ever on thirst for their blood, also ventured to encroach upon the territories belonging to the Emperor. Having taken possession of some parts of the Dakhin, they made themselves master of the fort of Surat, and erected strong factories in Bengal. They obtained orders from the Court of 'Alamgir for the exemption from tax of their goods, and they firmly settled in Bengal. As the French had put Nawab Anwaru-d din Khan, of Gopamau, Governor of Arkat, to death, and having nominally chosen a person as chief, had gained ground in the Dakhin, Nawab Muhammad 'Ali Khan, his son, made friendship with the English officers, who in all respects gave him their assistance, and used their best efforts to extripate the French. In 1174 A.H. (1760 A.D.) they laid siege to the fort of Phuljari, and having wrested it from the hands of the French, levelled all the buildings in it with the ground. Shikakul, Rajbandar, and other possessions of the French, the conquest of which was beyond all expectation, fell of themselves into their hands. Nawab Muhammad 'Ali Khan Mansur Jang, by the favour of the English became governor of Arkat, under the title of Walajah Amiru-l

Hind Muhammad 'Ali Khan Bahadur Mansur Jang. He gave himself up to the guidance of the English officers, and spent his whole life in the enjoyment of pleasure and delight. At present the territory of Arkot, like Bengal, is under the sway of the English, as will be shown hereafter.

TARIKH-I SHAH 'ALAM
OF
MANU LAL

[The author of this little work was Manu Lal or Muna Lal, son of Bahadur Singh Munshi. Sir H. M. Elliot's MS. extends to the twenty-fourth year of the reign, and at the end Sir Henry has written, "Imperfect as usual." It is the most common life of this Emperor, and was used by Colonel Francklin for his Life of Shah 'Alam.]

SHAH 'ALAM-NAMA
OF
GHULAM 'ALI KHAN

This life of Shah 'Alam was written by a Mughal named Ghulam 'Ali Khan, who was formerly in the service of Prince Mirza Jawan Bakht Bahadur Shah. It gives at the end the date of the death of Shah 'Alam, but the history in reality stops far short of that event, just previous to the blinding of the Emperor by Ghulam Kadir in 1788 A.D. This work also was used by Colonel Francklin.

SIZE—8 by 5 inches, 252 pages of 13 lines each.

'IMADU-S SA'ADAT
OF
MIR GHULAM 'ALI

This work was composed in 1223 A.H. (1808 A.D.), by Ghulam 'Ali Razwi [or according to Morley,[1] Mir Ghulam 'Ali Nakawi bin Saiyid Muhammad Akmal

[1] [*Catalogue, p.* 93.]

Khan] at the request of Col. Baillie, Resident at Lucknow. It contains an account of the Nawabs of Oudh, from Sa'adat Khan to Sa'adat 'Ali, and gives some particulars regarding the transactions in Rohilkhand which make it worthy of perusal. It also gives many interesting details relative to the affairs of Hindustan, the Mahrattas, the Durrani Afghans, the Nizams, the Sikhs, etc. The work concludes with the arrival of Lord Minto as Governor-General in 1807 A.D. I have heard that there is another work of the same author, called either *Imamu-s Sa'adat* or *Ma'dan-i Sa'adat,* which goes over the same ground, but in much greater detail.

The author gives the following account of himself. When he was eight years old, he was summoned by his father from Rai Bareilly to Shah-Jahanabad, where, though he was placed under tutors, his idleness prevented him acquiring any knowledge. In consequence of Ghulam Kadir's proceedings, his father left Dehli on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and our author repaired to Lucknow, where, instead of devoting himself to his studies, he became a great opponent of the learned men of the city, and vainly tried to argue with them upon false and insufficient premises; nevertheless, he thus, by questionable and illicit means, managed to acquire a little true knowledge. Meanwhile the news arrived of his father's death in the Dakhin, after having performed his pilgrimage. He was thus forced to visit and remain in that country for the period of seven years, after which he returned to his native land. He says he mentions all these circumstances in order to excuse his sad deficiency of learned acquirements."

Size of M.S. 8vo., 646 pages of 15 lines each. [This work has been printed at Lucknow.]

EXTRACT

Death of Shuja'u-d daula

[There are many stories current about the disease with which the Nawab Shuja'u-d daula was affected; some of

them opposed to all reason, and others so unworthy of credence that they are not worthy of being recorded. What was constantly affirmed is, that he had a bubo (*khiyarak*) which suppurated. Ointment was applied to it, but so far from healing, the wound grew worse from day to day. He lived for a month and thirteen days at Faizabad, during which time, that form which had been noted for its stalwart proportions grew thin and slender as a thread; and his arms looked like reed pens in his sleeves. He died on the night of the 14th Zi-l ka'da, 1188 A.H. (1775 A.D.).][2]

NIGAR-NAMA-I HIND
OF
SAIYID GHULAM 'ALI

[This work was written by Saiyid Ghulam 'Ali, the author of the preceding work. He states in his Preface that he wrote the *'Imadu-s Sa'adat,* containing memoirs of the ancestors of Yaminu-d daula, Nizamu-l Mulk, Nawab Sa'adat, 'Ali Khan Bahadur Mubariz Jang, at Colonel John Baillie's[1] suggestion, by whom it was highly approved of on perusal. At his patron's recommendation, he then went away in expectation of employment, and after spending a short interval at Cawnpore and Gorakhpur, came to Faizabad, where he, for certain reasons, remained a considerable time. During his stay, he longed for an opportunity of sending his patron some present, by which he hoped to be recalled to his presence; when he had the good fortune to hear from a person of known veracity, who had been present at all the en-

[2][*There is no confirmation in this work or in the Tarikh-i Muzaffari of the story told in the Siyaru-l Mutaakhkhirin about Hafiz Rahmat Khan's daughter. The Gul-i Rahmat is specific, and says that he died of a swelling called in Hindi* bad (*bubo*).]

[1][*Major Fuller's translation calls him "Mr. John Bayley."*]

gagements, and had seen with his own eyes a whole world turned topsy-turvy, and whose name he says shall be disclosed on fitting occasions, an account of the battle between .the chief of the Dakhinis, Sadasheo Rao Bhao and the Shah Ahmad Shah Abdali. Although these events had been chronicled in the *'Imadu-s Sa'adat,* yet they were not equally well authenticated nor so fully detailed, being merly recorded briefly, and in conformity with conflicting statements. They were introduced among the exploits of Nawab Shuja'u-d daula Bahadur; but as the main object of the work was something else, many important facts were omitted; consequently he had determined to compose a separate little book regarding this wondrous incident. Partly from the bent of his own inclinations, and partly for the sake of pleasing Colonel Baillie, of whose taste for historical researches he was well aware, he wrote these few pages, and styled them the *Nigar-nama-i Hind.* He concludes with a hope that that gentleman will have the kindness to persue his work, and that the public will charitably excuse all its faults and failings, etc.

In a subsequent page the author informs us that his authority was a *brahman* of the Dakhin, named Rao Kashi Rao, who was in the service of Nawab Shuja'u-d daula of Oudh, and was present at the interview which the Mahratta envoy Bhawani Shankar had with him. "He related just whatever happened before his eyes, and the writer of these lines clothed the facts detailed to him without increase or decrease in the garb of phraseology."

This work travels over some of the ground already covered by the *Tarikh-i Ibrahim Khan*, and there are strong indications that our author had access to that work when he wrote this. The *Tarikh-i Ibrahim Khan* was finished in 1786 A.D. The *Nigarnama* bears no date, but it was written after the *'Imadu-s Sa'adat,* which was not finished till 1808 A.H. So the oral information which the author received must have been reminiscences of more than twenty years' standing. This work is written

in much greater detail than the *Tarikh-i Ibrahim Khan*, and the language is more laboured and high flown.

The whole work was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by the late Major Fuller, and from that translation the following extracts has been taken.

SIZE—6 inches by 4,280 pages of 9 lines each.]

EXTRACTS

Ahmad Shah's Review of his Army

The ever-triumphant army of the Shah, consisting of twenty-four corps, each of which consisted of 1200 horsemen, were drawn up, armed and accoutred, at the foot of the mound, under the command of the under-mentioned chiefs: Barkhurdar Khan, Ashrafu-l Wuzra Shah Wali Khan, Sardar-i Sardaran Sardar Jahan Khan, Shah Pasand Khan, Nasir Khan Buluch, Barkhurdar Khan Sakma'ah, Zamralah Khan Kulwaraghasi, and Murad Khan an Irani Mughal. Out of the whole 24,000 horsemen, 6000 were *ghulams*,[2] who were encamped all round the royal pavilion at the distance of half a *kos;* and the rest of the army was ranged under the above-named leaders. Two thousand camels for the transport of *shahins,* each camel carrying one *shahin* (a swivel-gun) and two *shahinchis* (men to serve it), as well as 40 pieces of ordnance, and several camels laden with rockets, were counted among the royal troops. Along with Nawab Shuja'u-d daula Bahadur were 2,000 cavalry, 2,000 infantry, and 20 guns of different calibre; and with Najibu-d daula 6,000 cavalry and 8,000 Rohilla infantry. . . . Along with Davindi Khan and Hafizu-l Mulk Hafiz Rahmat Khan were counted 18,000 Rohilla infantry, 3,000 or

[2]*This appears to be a mistake for "Out of the 24 corps of cavalry, 6,000 horsemen were ghulams." ["Ahmad Shah's army consisted of 24 dastas."—Akhbaru-l Muhabbat. This authority entirely agrees as to the number of men and guns, and either derived its information direct from the Nigar-nama or from the same source.*]

4,000 cavalry, and some guns; while with Ahmad Khan Bangash Farrukhabadi there were only 2,000 horse and foot altogether, besides camp followers and attendants and a few guns.

The total force on this side was recokoned at 40,000 cavalry and several thousand infantry; out of which number 40,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry.[3] The men of the royal army were of several different denominations. First, Durranis of the same tribe as the Shah, every one of whom might be well called iron-hearted, and a smasher of the hardest rock; second, Kazalbashis, all of whom were equal in strength and martial prowess to Rustam and Nariman; third, Kabulis, who used the *sher-bachahs,* all youths with frames sturdy as elephants, and mounted on steeds of foreign breed, looking like mountains and accustomed to traverse the desert; fourth, the valiant and devoted *ghulams* and 4,000 *shahinchis,* well-drilled and expert shots, two of whom rode one camel. These made up 24,000 cavalry, and there were also 4,000 *shahinchis,* who were reckoned the most war-like force, and used to receive subsistence money from the presence. Their names were inscribed on a roll in the *Bakhshi's* office; they were all picked and experienced soldiers of proved courage and loyalty, and strong, valiant and impetuous warriors. Besides, there was a force not taken into account, which was styled the corps of *yatims,* for in company with each Durrani were four

[3][*Major Fuller was in doubt about this passage, and wrote his translation in pencil. There seems to be some omission in the text. The corresponding passage in the Akhbaru-l Muhabbat says: "The whole army amounted to* 40,000 *horse and* 40,000 *foot-soldiers, out of which thirty thousand mounted and ten thousand dismounted men, having sher-bachas (pistols) of Kabul, and two thousand small guns, carried by camels, belonged to the King. These numbers were ascertained from the officers in charge of the royal records."*]

yatim horsemen. The corps was intended solely for harassing and pillaging the enemy; and hence, after the Durranis made a charge in the heat of a battle, the *yatims* followed in rear of them, and prosecuted their attacks. These same Abdali *yatims* used to be employed for the purpose of cutting off supplies, and making predatory forays, and whatever spoil fell into their hands, they were allowed to retain, but no subsistence was granted them by government.

Review of the Bhao's Troops

Sadasheo Rao Bhao, having heard the news that the Shah had been holding a review of his troops, and that the royal army resembling the waves of the sea was preparing to move, came several marches this side of Kunjpura, and had an inspection of his own soldiery. In effect, the muster of the army (terrible from its numbers as the day of judgment) belonging to the Rao in question was according to the under-mentioned detail. Ibrahim Khan, besides the body of horsemen mentioned below, of whom only 2,000 accompanied him, had 9,000 Gardi carbineers, with four pieces of ordnance to every 1,000 men. His full complement was 6,000 cavalry;[4] Malhar Rao Holkar, 5,000 cavalry; Jhankuji Sindhia, 10,000; Appaji Gaikawar, 3,000; Jaswant Rao Panwar, 2,000; Shamsher Bahadur, 3,000; Piluji, Jadun's son, 3,000; Bithal Sheo Deo, 3,000; Balwant Rao, a half-brother of Bhao, who, on all trying occasions, dashed forward in advance of the latter, 7,000; Biswas Rao's private *risalah*, 5,000; and Appaji Mangesiah, 2,000. In a word, there mustered 51,000 warlike cavalry, suitably armed and mounted, and 11,000 infantry, together with the Gardi carbineers, 200 pieces of artillery, and camels

[4]["*Ibrahim Khan Gardi had* 2,000 *horse and* 9,000 *Gardi foot-soldiers, with guns and four large cannons. The Mahratta chiefs' own cavalry numbered* 6,000 *men.*" —*Akhbaru-l Muhabbat.*]

carrying rockets, and several other *zamburaks*. The arms, horses, and equipments of this force were in such excellent order, that no one of the royal or Hindustani armies had ever reached so high a state of discipline. Out of all the irregular troops accompanying Biswas Rao and the body of Chorghori Dhol horsemen, there were nearly 20,000 cavalry, as well as 2,000 Rajput horse, along with the *wakils* of the Rajas of Kachhwaha and Rathor, and other people belonging to the forces of different chiefs of Hindu extraction, who had mostly, through fear of the ravages of the Dakhinis, put the ring of obedience in their ears, and deeming submission to these chiefs the means of escape from disaster, hastened zealously to comply with their instructions. As for Narad[5] Shankar, who had been left behind with 6,000 cavalry and a small quantity of military stores, with a view to protect the city of Dehli, his detachment was in addition to this. It is a well-known fact that the whole Dakhin came along with Bhao, and I therefore assert, that however large the equipment and army which has been enumerated may appear, it is but a trifle after all.

Entrenched Camps

Having at last reached Panipat, the Bhao encompassed that city, and having regularly encamped his army around it, gave directions for the excavation of a ditch all round his own camp. Immediately after the promulgation of the order, the men applied themselves vigorously to the work, and having in a very short space of time dug a ditch twenty yards broad, and deeper than the height of an elephant, made it their safeguard against the enemy's fire, and having thus gained confidence, held their ground with firmness and intrepidity. Bhao having fixed upon this place in his own mind as the scene of strife and tumult, took up his quarters there, and planting his artillery at intervals connected by chains all

[5]["*Taru.*"—*Akhbar.*]

along the ditch, closed the path of access against the enemy. The Shah having likewise arrived at the head of his army, terrible as the day of judgment, within a distance of four *kos,* directed the excavation of an ordinary ditch, such as was usually dug every day. The pioneers, agreeably to orders, dug a ditch according to custom, and placed along the brink of it an abattis of *dhak* trees, or whatever else they could find; but as a longer stay was expected here than at other places, the excavation of a larger ditch than usual was undertaken.

The Bhao makes Overtures for Peace

Bhao, notwithstanding his vast pomp, mighty valour, and numerous associates, lost heart, and beholding the form of adversity in the mirror of his understanding, let slip the cord of firmness from his hand, and knocked at the door of humble solicitation with the utmost importunity. Kashi Raj, who is the narrator of these incidents, has thus related the story: "An individual by name Ganesh Pandit, who occupied the post of newswriter on behalf of the above-mentioned Rao at the Court of Nawab Shuja'u-d daula Bahadur, and enjoyed the honour of being admitted to his presence, began, after the occurrence of these events, to make overtures for peace at the instance of the aforesaid Rao. Most of the Hindi notes in the Mahratta dialect he wrote to me with his own hand, and the pith of their contents was this: 'Do you solicit His Highness, and urgently persuade him to this course, viz., in combination with Ashrafu-l Wuzra (Shah Wali Khan), to throw open the door of peace to me, and if a peace be concluded, immense favours shall be shown him in return for it.' Accordingly, on one occasion he sent His Highness the impression of his hand in saffron, together with a sworn agreement, and a white Dakhini turban, with a *sarpech* studded with diamonds, by way of an interchange of turbans, and I presented it for the auspicious inspection. From this side likewise the customary present was made in return, and by degrees I

brought His Highness's mind to this, that he entered into a consultation with Ashrafu-l Wuzra on the subject; and whatever appeared in writing between them was always addressed to Ashrafu-l Wuzra through the medium of your humble servant. [*Long consultations upon the proposal.*] After all, the communications led to nothing."

MUNTAKHABU-T TAWARIKH
OF
SADASUKH

Author Munshi Sadasukh Dehlawi, whose poetical title was Niyaz.

This is a history of India from the time of the Ghaznivides to the closing scenes of the Mughal Empire, and the accession of Akbar II. It is written with much personal knowledge of the later transactions, into which the English begin at last to be introduced. It includes at the end of the first Book an account of the revenues of the later Mughal Empire, with a few geographical particulars more intelligibly recorded than is usual with Hindustani auhors; and an account of the Rajas of the northern hills, Rajputana and the Dakhin, and their respective dominions, at the end of the second Book. Though it is not mentioned in the Preface, we learn from several parts of the work that it was composed in the year 1234 A.H. (1818-19 A.D.).

Sadasukh opens his history with a critical account of Firishta's ante-Muhammadan period, which he condemns as in every respect untrustworthy; but after that he follows him implicitly to the time of Akbar. The history of the minor monarchies is entirely abstracted from that author, and he divides his work in the same manner. When he reaches the earlier Mughal monarchs, he avails himself of the other ordinary sources of information, and intersperses his accounts with anecdotes, in which the principal actors are represented as Jahangir, Shah Jahan and other noted Indian characters; but in reality the stories are familiar in the East as showing the

justice, ingenuity, clemency, or vigour of older and more celebrated potentates, such as Sulaiman and Naushirwan. These misrepresentations probably arise more from ignorance than design.

The real value of the work commences only from the reign of Shah 'Alam, and indeed the author states that it was chiefly his object to write a full and connected history of the period commencing with Bahadur Shah to his own time, in which he has been, it must be confessed, entirely successful; but that in order to render the work complete as a General History of India, he freely extracted a brief account of the several countries and kings of India from every historical composition procurable in his time, and especially from Firishta, from whom he confesses he has copied verbatim even where he suspected error. Where he quotes original works, as the *Tarikh-i Guzida* and *Tabakat-i Nasiri,* it is evident that he obtains them second-hand from Firishta.

The author was born at Dehli, and died at an advanced age at Allahabad subsequent to the introduction of our rule. It is understood that he was employed at the close of last century under the British Government in some official capacity at Chunar. He wrote several other works and treatises besides this history, among which the *Tambihu-l Jahilin,* which contains an account of the Hindu Shastras, customs and tribes, is exceedingly useful, and exhibits great powers of observation. Much is of an anecdotical character, but is not less valuable on that account.

The same title which this history bears is usually given to the *Tarikh-i Badauni.* Another contains a history of Timur and Shah Rukh Mirza, with letters written by the latter to the Emperor of China, in which he endeavours to effect his conversion to the Muhammadan faith. It also contains the Mughal's correspondence with Saiyid Khizr Khan, Emperor of Dehli, and has an appendix giving an account of Transoxiana. Another is the *Muntakhab-i Be badal.*

The author tells us that when released from his official duties, he went, at the age of sixty-five, to reside at Allahabad. For the period of ten years from that time he engaged himself in literary occupations, and wrote, like another Lucilius, no less than 125,000 lines of verse in Persian, Urdu and Bhakha, besides nearly 5,000 pages of prose.

It was after these labours that he commenced his History, in which he professes not to have followed the plan of other historians, "who, being in the service of powerful kings, have obtained reward and promotion by their flatteries—have made mountains out of mole-hills, and suns out of atoms. He, on the contrary, who had one foot in the grave, and wished for no other recompense than the praise of honest men, who coveted no bread but that which the Almighty might be pleased to give him, who had no object in glozing his narrative with lies and misrepresentations, and whose only remaining ambition was to leave a good name behind him, was determined to write without fear or favour."

Under this declaration, it is gratifying to find him taking every opportunity to praise the English, expressing his gratitude for the evils from which they had saved his country, and contrasting their administration with that of the Muhammadans. With a spirit unusual with his countrymen, which his secure residence at Allahabad enabled him to express without reserve, he thus records his opinions at the end of the first introductory chapter: "At this time there is neither Rai nor Raja, nor Musulman, but only Mahrattas, Firingis and Sikhs. God forbid that the Firingis should imitate the Musulmans in carrying on a holy war against infidels! else to poor people it would be a sore day of judgment. God be praised that those wretches are now the sufferers! From the day that the rule of the English has been established, even the wing of a gnat has not been injured by the blast. Although it

must be acknowledged that employment in their service is as rare as a phœnix, yet there is extreme security under them. I have myself seen the depredations of the Afghans round Dehli and Mattra. God defend us from them! It makes the very hair of the body stand on end to think of them. Two hundred thousand men were destroyed in these massacres, and the hordes of the enemy were without number. Such atrocities, forsooth, were perpetrated in compliance with their religion and law! What cared they for the religion, the law, the honour and reputation of the innocent sufferers? It was enough for such bigots that splendour accrued by their deeds to the faith of Muhammad and 'Ali!"

[A large portion of this work has been translated for Sir H. M. Elliot by a *munshi,* including the histories of the Nizam-Shahi and Kutb-Shahi dynasties, the history of Malabar taken from the *Tuhfatu-l Mujahidin,* some particulars relating to the rulers of Nipal, etc., for which there is no room in this Volume.]

The author divides his history, according to the fanciful language of Eastern authors, into two palaces (*kasr*). The first is subdivided into two mansions (*mahall*), the second into ten mansions and six chambers (*aiwan*), which in the second Book are called by some oversight *hujra*).

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Kings of Multan, p. 1256; ix. The Kings of Kashmir, p. 1248; x. The Rulers of Malabar, p. 1314.

SIZE—8vo., 1357 pages, with 15 lines to a page.

I know of only one copy of Sadasukh's history, a very illegible autograph of the author, in the possession of his family at Allahabad. From this my own was taken, and from the work being altogether unknown elsewhere, it may be presumed there is no other.

EXTRACTS

Shuja'u-d daula

Shuja'u-d daula (after his defeat by Shah 'Alam and the English) went to consult with Ahmad Khan Bangash. In reply to Shuja'u-d daula, Ahmad Khan Bangash said, "I recommand you to go to the English attended by only one or two hundred unarmed men, and entertain no fear, because they are very wise and liberal, and it is not to be expected that they will treat you otherwise than in a becoming manner." Shuja'u-d daula, after deliberation, saw that the old man was right, and agreed with him that what he had said was best. "I have got with me," he said, "some very valuable presents to give them. The fact is, two boys of noble extraction, ten or twelve years of age, who belong, perhaps, to the family of the King of England, have fallen into my hands, and I have regarded them with much greater care and affection than my own sons. They are much pleased with me, and they have promised that, if I take them to their own people, they will do me much good. Although no dependence can be placed upon the words of boys, yet I see no other chance of success. I will go to the English according to your suggestions. Let the event be what it may, I will launch my boat on the water." The Nawab, having left Ahmad Khan, proceeded in that direction with about one thousand of his servants, including his own family. It happened that at this time Lord Clive, who was a very experienced officer, had just arrived from England, and had proceeded from Calcutta to Allahabad,

on the part of the Honourable Company to settle pending disputes, and to obtain the liberty of the two boys who had been taken by Shuja'u-d daula. When the Nawab arrived at Nawab-ganj, which is six *kos* from Allahabad, Lord Clive, Stacy, and some other officers in the King's service, came to receive him. The English gentlemen took off their hats, and showed all marks of respect, according to the custom of their country, and behaved with great affability. They stood before him closing their hands together. After that, they conducted him with great honour into the fort of Allahabad. At this Shah 'Alam changed colour. What passed in his mind he knew alone. There is no room to say more about it. All this honour and respect which the English showed to the Nawab were very disgusting to Shah 'Alam.

Beni Bahadur, who had gone towards the district of Biswara and Lucknow, also came with all speed, and sought the protection of the English, fearing lest, by being separated from Shuja'u-d daula, some mischief might befall him. After showing every hospitality and respect, the English intimated to the Nawab that they would not take the country which formerly belonged to him. Shuja'u-d daula surrendered both the boys whom he had kept with such care to Lord Clive. The Governor-General sent them to England, and after this it was proposed to the Nwaab, that at all times the English army would be ready to assist him, and so it would be kept at his disposal wherever he chose to place it; he should therefore make a provision for their pay from the revenue of his territory. Thus it was agreed that the Nawab should take ten *anas* in the rupee, and should give up six *anas* on account of the army.

This being done, the English recommended Shah 'Alam to him, saying that he had separated himself from the Nawab, and had taken their side only with a view to his own interest, and that the Nawab ought to assist him by making some provision for his maintenance. The districts of Allahabad, Kora, and Karra, might be made

over to him. At this time Shuja'u-d daula was a mere cipher. Whatever he received he considered as the gift of God, and was satisfied. Such honours and distinguished treatment were beyond his expectation, and he knew not, as somebody says, "Whether all this was reality or a dream." He esteemed it a favour of Providence to see himself in such a fortunate state after his distress. What could he do, had he not accepted? He agreed to the proposals of the English with all his heart. He said that he was a slave of that noble house, and he should be very happy to render it any assistance in his power.

After this the English were going to submit another question. But the Nawab, interrupting them, said, if they wished to recommend him to forgive that ungrateful wretch, he would not accept all the favours they were bestowing on him. He would go to Calcutta or England and remain there, but they should say nothing in behalf of Beni Bahadur. He would proceed against him in the manner he thought best. The English also thought that Beni Bahadur was a mean and low person, who had been raised to such rank only through the favour of Shuja'u-d daula, that he had ruled instead of the Nawab himself, and yet had behaved towards him with ingratitude. He was a servant of the Nawab, who might do with him what he liked; they had no concern with that wretch. But they requested that the Nawab would grant them one favour, which was not to take his life. Shuja'u-d daula agreed, and having deprived him of sight, fixed a daily allowance of ten rupees for his subsistence.

The Nawab, very happy and cheerful, marched thence and came to Faizabad. He paid no attention to the old army and the Mughals, so that they dispersed in all directions. The truth is that within the last three hundred years, Humayun and Shuja'u-d daula are the only two potentates who have recovered their lost kingdoms after most marvellous vicissitudes. The latter even exceeded the former in this respect; for Humayun. after obtaining his kingdom, did not enjoy the pleasures of it. because he

soon died. But Shuja'u-d daula, after emerging from a state of the utmost embarrassment, added, by the power of his arms, the districts of Etawa and Rohilkhand to his former dominions, and ruled in great prosperity and happiness for ten or twelve years after it. His descendants also enjoy their power to this day, . . . and at present, among the Muhammadans, there are no princes so fortunate. The Nawab, after dismissing the old army, organized a new force in imitation of the English. He taught the soldiers the use of muskets or matchlocks. He made several divisions, each counting one thousand men, and gave them the appellation of Bark Battalion, Bakht Battalion, and Baisi. Instead of Kumaidans and Captains, he called the officers by the name of Salar. In short, he introduced everything into the army entirely contrary to, and at variance with what prevailed before.

'Shah 'Alam

Shah 'Alam angrily demanded from Najaf Khan an account of the revenues of Allahabad and the districts under his charge, and also the payment into his treasury of all the money he had appropriated to himself from the income of the *khalisa mahals*. He dismissed Najaf Khan from the Governorship of the province of Allahabad, and appointed Shukru-llah Khan in his stead. Najaf Khan prepared to dispute the matter by force. He replied that in rendering assistance to Shuja'u-d daula, ten *lacs* of rupees had been spent when he was fighting alone for thirteen days, and that money ought to be repaid to him. A great misunderstanding arose between him and the King, and at last the English became mediators, and caused three *lacs* of rupees to be given to Najaf Khan by the King. Twenty-six *lacs* of rupees from the revenues of Bengal, out of which two *lacs* were to be annually paid to Najaf Khan; thirty *lacs* from the *chakla* and the province of Allahabad; about five or six *lacs* from Shuja'u-d daula's territory, and an equal amount from those of Najibu-d daula and Hafiz Rahmat Khan, viz

altogether about seventy *lacs* of rupees, were fixed to be paid to the King. All this may be considered to have been done through the kindness of the English, who thus enabled the King to live very comfortably. Ahmad Shah and 'Alamgir had not even dreamt of such wealth as Shah 'Alam enjoyed through the favour of God and the liberality of the English. After some time, Zu-l fikaru-d daula was appointed, on the part of Shah 'Alam, collector of Kora, and Shakiru-d daula governor of Allahabad. The English returned to Bengal.

The Company

In England the ruling power is possessed by two parties, one the King, who is the lord of the State, and the other the Honourable Company. The former governs over his own country; and the latter, though only subjects, exceed the King in power, and are the directors of mercantile affairs. Their agents carry on traffic in the foreign countries, such as India, China, Rum, and other distant islands and ports. They themselves remain in their own country, like subjects obedient and submissive to their King.

ASHRAFU-T TAWARIKH
OF
KISHAN DAYAL

"The Most Excellent of Histories" is the title of a work written by 'Izzdu-d din 'Abdu-r rahman bin Ahmad Iji in the middle of the fourteenth century; but the history we have now under consideration was composed by Kishan Dayal *Khatri,* of Dehli, written for the purpose of being presented to Chandu Lal, minister of Haidarabad. It was completed in 1826 A.D., and took five years to compile.

This enormous work is a useful compilation, but possesses little originality. Its chief value consists in its

translations, or copious abstracts of the *Ramayana, Mahabharata,* and some of the *Puranas.* The rest of the work is a mere rifacimento from various authors, geographical as well as historical, and generally without any indication of the sources of information.

The *Ashrafu-t Tawarikh* is divided into seven Books.

CONTENTS

Book I. contains an epitome of the Shiu (Siva) Puran, and an account of the ten Avatars, p. 10; II. Translation of the Ramayana, p. 226; III. Translation of the Bhagavat Purana, p. 1014; IV. Holy men of the Hindus, p. 1462; V. An epitome of the Mahabharata—an account of the Hindu ante-Muhammadan Rajas—the Muhammadan Kings of Ghazni and Dehli, from Mahmud to Akbar II., and the Establishment of British supremacy, p. 1608; VI. The Revenue of the different Provinces of Hindustan and Persia, p. 2968; VII. An account of the seven climates, noted cities, and wonders of the world, p. 3022.

The work closes with an account of the Brahmins and Khatris, and an eulogium on Raja Chandu Lal.

SIZE—Elephant Folio, consisting of 3128 pages, each containing 19 lines.

There are only two copies of this work, both of which belong to the family of the author. One is plentifully illustrated in the portion devoted to Hindu Mythology and History.

The work is written, in the parts which are not copied or translated from others, in a very flowery style, which though correct in in its structure, is preposterous in its extravagance. For instance, a high-strained panegyric is applied to that royal puppet, Akbar II., a mere pensioner of the British Government, entirely divested of all civil, military, and political power, except within the narrow precincts of his own palace. Such fulsome and hyper-

bolical panegyric, even if bestowed upon Akbar the Great, would be offensive enough; but when the subject of it is Akbar the Little, it becomes absolutely nauseous.

JINANU-L FIRDAUS
OF
MIRZA MUHAMMAD YUSUFI

"The Gardens of Paradise:" so called, we are informed, for the very substantial reason that the work consists of eight chapters, and the Muhammadan Paradise contains as many gardens. The author may perhaps have derived his idea from the famous *Firdausu-t Tawarikh* of Ibn Mu'in, composed in A.H. 808.

This work consists of historical tables, showing the Princes of the several Muhammadan Dynasties of Asia, Africa, and Spain, with the dates of the birth, accession, and death of each sovereign, and the period of his reign and life. The tables are generally prefaced by a brief Introduction. The *Jinanu-l Firdaus* shows the successions of the different Khalifs, the rulers of Syria, Arabia, Persia, Shirwan, Lar, Khwarism, and Hindustan; the Isma'ilians, Saljukis, Atabaks, Samanians, Sharifs of Mecca, Ghaznivides, Ghorians, and Mughals, and several other dynasties of minor importance.

The work was composed in A.H. 1126 (A.D. 1714), by Mirza Muhammad Yusufi, but completed by Tajammul Husain in A.H. 1244 (A.D. 1828-9), who, finding in the library of his patron, Montague Turnbull, of the Civil Service, an incomplete copy of the *Jinanu-l Firdaus*, added a seventh and eighth chapter to supply the deficiency. The sixth chapter of the original work contains an account of the Kings of Dehli to the close of the Afghan Sur Dynasty, as well as an account of the Bahmani, Nizam-Shahi, 'Adil-Shahi, Kutb-Shahi, and Faruki Dynasties and the Kings of Gujarat, Malwa, Jaunpur, Bengal, Kashmir, Multan, and Sind. There are, no

doubt, perfect copies of the original, complete in eight chapters, as the name implies. In the seventh chapter, added by Tajammul Husain, there is an account of the Mughal Dynasty of India, and in the eighth chapter an account of the Wazirs of Oudh, and the Nizams of Bengal and Bihar.

The tables have been compiled from the best sources of information, including among others, *Jalalu-d dinu-s Sayuti, Ibn Khallikan, Nizamu-t Tawarikh, Matla'u-s Sa'dain, Habibu-s Siyar, Rauzata-s Safa, Tabakat-i Akbari,* Firishta, *Jahan-ara, Tarikh-i Alfi, and Tarikh-i Badauni;* and it would therefore be worth printing, if correctly edited, for the use of the Persian students of our colleges.

The only copy which I know of the *Jinanu-l Firdaus* is in the possession of Major-General T. P. Smith, of the Bengal Army.

SIZE—4to., 162 pages, of 19 lines each.

TARIKH-I HENRY
OF
SAIYID MUHAMMAD BAKIR 'ALI KHAN

This is a compilation by Saiyid Muhammad Bakir 'Ali Khan, son of Hazrat Shah Kalimu-llah Bokhari, dedicated to Pidcock of the Civil Service, and entitled *Tarikh-i Henry* in compliment to that gentleman's Christian name.

CONTENTS

The Preface, showing the cause of his writing history, with copies of verses in praise of the Magistrate and Collector and Judge, and Sir Charles Metcalfe, p. 1.—The Introduction contains an account of Adam, the Prophets, Muhammad, Saints, and Philosophers, p. 11.—Book I. comprises an account of the Kaianians, 'Ummayides and 'Abbasides, and Changiz Khan p. 85; II. Timur and his Descendants in India, down to the battle of Buxar, p. 182; III. The Rajas of Dehli preced-

ing the introduction of Muhammadanism, p. 245; IV. The Ghaznivides and Kings of Dehli to the time of Babar, p. 269; V. The Saljukians, Safavians, Isma'ilians, and some other dynasties, p. 365.—The Conclusion describes the seven climates, with geographical details, and the wonders of the world, p. 387.

SIZE—Folio, 441 pages, each containing 23 lines.

This work, which was composed in 1835, is chiefly an abstract, without acknowledgment, of the *Mir-at-i Aftab-numa,* and is of no value, though of some repute in Bundelkhand, where it was composed. There is nothing original throughout the whole work. The author says that his ancestors were frequently appointed tutors to the Princes of the Imperial family of Dehli; that the *Fatawai 'Alamgiri* and *Fatawai Hindi* were compiled by them; that he himself was tutor to Mirza Jahangir and Mirza Babar; that thinking it his duty to instruct them in history, he diligently read the *Shah-nama,* and made extracts from historical works in the Imperial Library; that on the removal of Prince Jahangir to Allahabad, the author's eldest son, Saiyid Ahmad 'Ali Khan, was appointed under him as the Prince's tutor; that he himself, finding the Prince's indifference to learning left Allahabad, and was appointed by W. Dick to be Munsif of Hamirpur; and that seeing Pidcock one day studying a book respecting the Sadhs, and observing that gentleman's eager desire to learn ancient history, he thought that a general history, would be acceptable to him, and in furtherance of this view he compiled the *Tarikh-i Henry.*

The *Tarikh-i Henry,* notwithstanding that it is dedicated to an English gentleman, contains at its commencement a sly insinuation against the doctrine of the Trinity and Incarnation.

BALWANT-NAMA
OF
FAKIR KHAIRU-D DIN MUHAMMAD

This is a history of the Rajas of Benares, and of the occurrences in that province during the middle of the last century, when it was the scene of so many events important in the history of India. It was composed at the instigation of some English gentleman, by Fakir Khairu-d din Muhammad of Allahabad, the author of the *'Ibrat-nama* and of the History of Jaunpur translated by Major Pogson. The narrative is sometimes broken by the intervention of irrelevant matter, such as, for instance, a long controversy between a Musulman and a Hindu on subjects connected with their respective creeds; but barring this defect, the volume is very useful.

[The work is divided into five Chapters. Chap. I. gives an account of the rise of the Rajas of Benares, and the other four chapters are devoted respectively to the Rajas Balwant Singh, Chait Singh, Mahipat Narain, and Udit Narain Singh.]

[There is a copy of the work among Sir H. M. Elliot's MSS.]

SIZE—Small 8vo., 510 pages, of 13 lines each.

YADGAR-I BAHADURI
OF
BAHADUR SINGH

The author of this voluminous work is Bahadur Singh, son of Hazari Mal, a Bhatnagar Kayath of the Gondiwal sub-division, and a resident of Shah-Jahanabad, who finished his work in the year 1249 A.H. (1833-4 A.D.).

He tells us very little about himself, and there is no part of the work that enables us to fill up the outline. He says merely that circumstances induced him to leave his native country, and that he was in great distress when

he arrived at Lucknow in the year 1232 A.H. (1817 A.D.), in the time of Ghaziu-d din Haidar. It was there that he read several Hindi and Persian works, containing accounts of kings, nobles, ministers, divines and philosophers, and that he was induced to write a connected history of them, in order that the great men of the present day might benefit by their examples. This work he called after his own name, *Yadgar-i Bahaduri,* "The Memorial of Bahadur."

This is all we learn from the Preface, which is usually full of personal details, but at page 2040 we are told the work was finished in the year above mentioned on the 1st of the "blessed month" Ramazan, after having occupied a long time in its compilation. The work, we are told, is a mere copy from others, and the author has not added a word, and that after reading several histories, some of which are laudatory and some inculpatory, and few without a leaning one way or the other, he has come to the conclusion that there are more lies than truths in history. One would have hoped for something philosophical after such a declaration, but he evidently adheres to his determination of giving nothing original; and it is only at the close of the work, when he gives an account of the Nawabs of Oudh, their families and ministers, that we are favoured with anything historical which we cannot obtain elsewhere.

There are, however, several features in the work, besides its historical ones, which render it of value. The History of the Hindu sects and devotees, the biographies of the Poets, the Chapters on the useful arts, and the Geography, are especially to be commended. The latter appears to be chiefly taken, without acknowledgment, from the *Hadikatu-i Akalim,* (See *Studies In Indian History vol. III*) but it contains some notices not to be found in that work.

The author entertained great rancour against the Kashmirians, and in his history of that country he speaks of their depravity as arising from their illegitimacy, and

ends by saying that rich and poor should abhor this people, and even destroy them when possible, and that "he who is their friend cannot be quite free from contamination in his own descent." It is probable that he may have been thwarted in obtaining some employment by the superior adroitness and intrigue of one of this race, and takes this opportunity of venting his spleen upon the whole nation. It must be confessed, however, that they bear a bad character in Hindustan, and certain popular verses show the low estimation in which they are held. The constant oppression they have undergone for the last thousand years, and which they are still subject to, is enough to degrade the *morale* of any nation, with whatever excellences it may have been originally endowed by its Maker.

CONTENTS

Book I. History of the Patriarchs, p. 2.—Book II., in seven Chapters. Chap. i. The first Khalifas, p. 44; ii. The Imams, p. 50; iii. The 'Ummayides, p. 65; iv. The 'Abbasides, p. 69; v. The Isma'ilians, p. 96; vi. The Saiyid Dynasties, p. 112; vii. The Sharifs of Mecca and Medina, p. 115.—Book III. contains seven Chapters. Chap. i. Philosophers of Greece and Europe, including Columbus and Copernicus (whose system is explained), India and Persia (including Zoroaster), and some of the Moderns, p. 135; ii. Companions of the Project, p. 192; iii. His chief Dependents, p. 195; iv. Mashaikhs Sufis, and Hindu Saints, in four Sections. Section 1. Sunnis, p. 198; 2. Shi'as, p. 289; 3. Sufis of Iran (chiefly from the *Nafhatu-l Ins*), p. 296; 4. Hindu Theosophists, Devotees and their Sects, p. 314. Chap. v. Muhammadan Doctors, p. 508; vi. The celebrated Poets, etc., and miscllaneous matters, in twenty Sections. Section 1. Poets of Arabia, p. 526; 2. Poets of Persia, p. 528; 3. Various kinds of handwriting, p. 590; 4. Poets of India, p. 595; 5. Rules of versification, p. 614; 6. Physiognomy, p. 632; 7. Interpretation of dreams, p. 644; 8. Science of respiration as

peculiarly taught in Hindustan, p. 661; 9. Astrology, and professors of it, p. 666; 10. Music, p. 696; 11. Agriculture, the best of all the arts, p. 720; 12. Masonry, p. 728; 13. Ironmongery, p. 732; 14. Carpentry, p. 733; 15. Commerce, p. 736; 16. Painting, p. 737; 17. Talismans, p. 739; 18. Magic, p. 751; 19. Handicrafts of various descriptions, including cookery, p. 757; 20. Sayings of wise and witty persons, p. 767. Chap. vii. Celebrated persons of Islam, p. (?).—Book IV. embraces an Introduction and eight Chapters . Introduction. The new and the old worlds, their cities, p. 806; Chap. i. Kings of Iran, p. 1072; ii. Sultans of Arabia, p. 1299; iii. Sultans of Rum, p. 1330; iv. Rulers of Egypt and Sham p. 1352; v. Sovereigns of the West, p. 1363; vi. Sultans of Turkistan, p. 1378; vii. Kings of Europe, including the institution of the British in India, their army, administration of justice, revenue, learning, etc., p. 1457; viii. Rulers of Hindustan: its different Provinces and inhabitants, p. 1502.

The last chapter though not subdivided in the Table of Contents, contains several different chapters on the Brahmins, Hindu Ceremonies, Avatars, Early Hindu Rajas, Kings of Dehli, from Kutbu-d din to Akbar Shah II., Malwa, the Dakhin, Kashmir, Bengal, Jaunpur, Sind, Oudh, the Mahrattas, etc.

Size—Large 8vo., containing 2082 pages, with 17 closely-written lines in each page.

I believe there is only one copy of the *Yadgar-i Bahaduri* in existence, the autograph of the author in my possession. I procured it from a bookseller at Lucknow.[1]

[A considerable portion of this work, including the History of Kashmir, was translated for Sir H. M. Elliot, and the translation is among his papers.]

EXTRACTS

Kanauj

Kanauj is a large city, and it is known to be very ancient.

[1] [*It is not now among Sir Henry's MSS.*]

Some say that it was built after the reign of the incarnate Ram Chand, the lord of Ayodhya (Oudh). However that may be, this city was from ancient times the seat of the throne of the Rajas of Hindustan. It appears from Hindi books that the city of Kanauj was several times populated, and several times deserted. The city which at present exists was founded by Raja Fur Kanauji, and in his time it is said to have been so densely inhabited, that there were one hundred and forty thousand shops[2] for the sale of betel-leaves only, from which we may derive an idea of its size.

The city stands on the banks of Ganges, which now runs two *kos* from it, but during the rains it reaches it. It it said that Fur Kanauji had a son, who, being offended with his father, went to Allahabad, and made it his residence. When his father died, he succeeded him in the government, and made Allahabad the seat of his throne. He assumed the name and title of his father. In his time, Alexander of Rum came to Hindustan. Kaid Raja, the chief. . . [3]

The climate of Kanauj is good and temperate. It now lies in ruins, and is inhabited here and there like a village. It is famous for its chintz, *chirah* (a kind of turban), and fruits of different kinds. At present, it is chiefly occupied by the Saiyids, (of Bokhara). Saiyid Muhammad of Kanauj, the tutor of the Emperor Aurangzeb, is celebrated in the whole of Hindustan. There were five strong forts which belonged to this city, of which scarcely a vestige now remains.[4] . . .

[2] *Thirty thousand is the usual extravagant allowance in other accounts.*

[3] [*A page of the translation is here wanting.*]

[4] *The Hadikatu-l Akalim says these were the five forts mentioned by the Rauzatu-s Safa as having been destroyed by Mahmud in one day; but the Rauzatu-s Safa mentions seven which were so treated.*

Nawabs of Oudh

Be it not concealed that in the country of Hindustan there is a set of babblers and fools, who sit in the shops of hemp-sellers, and whatever comes into their minds they say with regard to the nobles, ministers, and the King himself. Though their words have no connexion with truth, yet ignorant and foolish people, conceiving them to be true, spread them in all places. For instance, the following story was originated by these absurd talkers. That one day Nadir Shah said to Burhanu-l Mulk and Nizamu-l Mulk Asaf Jah, "You wrote me when I was in Kandahar, that if my royal servants should come in this direction, you would pay fifty *krors* of rupees into the treasury. Where are now those rupees? Go, and bring them within three days; otherwise I will put you to death with great torture." Those nobles, having taken their leave, determined with each other to kill themselves, and thus save their honour. Nizamu-l Mulk took only a cup of water mixed with sugar, while Burhanu-l Mulk, on hearing of it, actually poisoned himself, and delivered his life to his Maker. This is a direct falsehood. The truth is, that Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk had been troubled for some months with a boil. Notwithstanding his sickness, he took part in the battle which was fought with Nadir Shah, and with the severity of the pain his holy soul departed to the heavens. Asaf Jah had no animosity against Burhanu-l Mulk.

Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk left four daughters and one son by the daughter of Salih Muhammad Khan Asaf Jah, besides the mother of Shuja'u-d daula. His son, after some time, died of smallpox. . . .

It was at this time that the Nawab (Shuja'u-d daula) marched towards Agra, and having pitched his tents at Karya-ganj, sent word to Hafiz Rahmat Khan that he should now pay him the sum of forty *lacs* of rupees which had been paid on his account to the Mahrattas. Although Hafiz Rahmat Khan endeavoured to persuade

the Afghan chiefs to pay the money due to the Nawab, yet the Rohillas, who in their excessive pride thought that no one could stand before them, prepared to fight, and a great engagement ensued between the parties. Just as the Rohillas had nearly completed the battle with the Nawab Wazir, the English army came up to oppose them, and threw them into confusion by the heavy fire of its artillery. In the midst of the fight, Hafiz Rahmat Khan with great intrepidity attacked the English army, and having killed a great number of men, drank the cup of martyrdom in the field. The Rohillas took to flight, and Sultan Khan, brother of Murtaza Khan Baraichi, cut off the head of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, and presented it to the Nawab Wazir, who ordered his joy to be expressed by the beat of drums. Zu-l fikar Khan and Muhabbat Khan, sons of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, who were taken prisoners, were honoured with the grant of *khil'ats*. Baha'u-d daula 'Abdu-llah Khan of Kashmir, and Khan Muhammad Khan, the son of the sister of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, were the originators of this quarrel. Khan Muhammad Khan was given over to Muhabbat Khan, but 'Abdu-llah Khan was sent to prison. His face was blackened, and he was placed on an ass, and paraded round the whole camp.

After this, the Nawab Wazir marched towards Bundelkhand, and placed the Rohilla territory under the charge of Sidi Bashir Khan. He left Mirza Sa'adat 'Ali in bareilly, and ordered Murtaza Khan Baraichi, Mahbub 'Ali Khan, and Latafat 'Ali Khan to remain with his son, and never to step beyond the sphere of obedience. After some time, the Nawab Wazir fell sick, and although very different accounts are given of his disease, yet the most correct one is that a boil broke out in his thigh, which, notwithstanding all the endeavours of the physicians, was never cured. It gave him more and more pain every day. In short, he suffered from it for a month and thirteen days, and expired on the night of the 24th Zi-l ka'da, 1188 A.H. (28 Jan. 1775). The next morning he was

buried in Gulab Bari, which was designed for the burial-place of his venerated mother. Though the servants of the Nawab struck their heads against stones in their grief, yet the subjects of Faizabad were very glad at the event.

Before this, Mukhtaru-d daula had disbanded the battalions which were under the command of Mir Afzal 'Ali. He was also seeking to injure both the Gusains, Umrao Gir, and Himmat Bahadur. He disbanded many divisions of the cavalry, and it was his intention to discharge the whole army, and enlist a new one of his own choice. He was also waiting to find an opportunity of deposing Asafu-d daula, and making himself master. As Nawab Asafu-d daula was as much addicted as a child to sports and trivial pursuits, and had no acquaintance with the business of the State, Mukhtaru-d daula, who had the power of employing and dismissing all the establishments, did what he liked. The Nawab Wazir was at last sorry that he had obtained so much influence, and endeavoured to remove him.

In these days, Mir Afzal 'Ali wrote a letter to Raja Jhau Lal, who submitted it to the Nawab Wazir. The Nawab, after persuing it, kept silence, and tore the paper in pieces. In short, all the officers of the court of the Nawab Wazir were united together to ruin Mukhtaru-d daula. But he was not aware of it, and passed day and night drinking in the company of women. Basant 'Ali Khan, the eunuch, was introduced to Mukhtaru-d daula, and was adopted by him as his son. He wore the ring of obedience in his ear, and was day and night present before him. Mirza Sa'adat Ali Khan joined Basant, and it was agreed that Basant should kill Mukhtaru-d daula, and that he should kill Asafu-d daula, and seat himself upon the *masnad*. Basant 'Ali Khan did not tell this secret to his other friends. Had he mad them his confidants, the design might have been fulfilled; but by his concealment, the opportunity was lost. Mir Muhammad Amin, son of Mirza Yusuf the blind, having become ac-

quainted with the design, associated with Mirza Sa'adat 'Ali Khan.

One day, Basant 'Ali Khan invited Mukhtaru-d daula to dine in his house, and to see the cold bath which he had made. Mukhtaru-d daula, ignorant of the treacherous destinations of the heavens, accepted this last entertainment, and rode to the bath, the place of his murder, which fate had prepared for him. After the dinner was over, dancing and drinking began. When Mukhtaru-d daula had become drunk, Basant 'Ali Khan left the place on some pretence, after which, five ruffians, who had been appointed for the purpose, entered the room, and one of them, whose name was Mir Talib 'Ali, put an end to Mukhtaru-d daula's existence with a dagger.

When the news of this tragedy spread in the camp, Tafazzul Husain Khan reported it to Mirza Sa'adat 'Ali Khan, who, arming himself, proceeded on horseback towards the tent of Asafu-d daula; but Basant 'Ali Khan had arrived at the Nawab's before him, sword in hand, and exclaimed that he had killed Mukhtaru-d daula. The Nawab cried, "What! have you come here with a drawn sword to slay me also?" He said this, and made a signal to Raja Nawaz Singh, who with one blow of his sword put Basant to death. In the mean time, came the uncle of Basant, whose name was Khwaja Ghulam Muhammad Khan, and he aimed a blow at Raja Nawaz Singh. One Ghulam 'Ali Khan rose to attack Ghulam Muhammad Khan; but Nawab Asafu-d daula prevented him, and sent Ghulam Muhammad away with great honour. It was immediately after this that Mirza Sa'adat 'Ali Khan reached the tent of Asafu-d daula; but having heard what had passed, returned to his own, and thence, accompanied by Tafazzul Husain Khan, hastened to the tent of Gusain Umrao Gir, who placed him in a boat which belonged to himself, and having given him a mare and some money, sent him off to a place of safety, where some friends afterwards joined him. These events took place in the month of Safar, 1190 A.H. (March-April, 1776 A.D.).

JAMI'U-T TAWARIKH
OF
FAKIR MUHAMMAD

THE author of this work is Fakir Muhammad, son of Kazi Muhammad Riza, inhabitant of Rajpur, *pargana* of Santapur in Bengal.

The author says that he was form his youth devoted to historical studies, and he gives a list of all the works which he had collected and read; but none of them are of any novelty or peculiar interest. His compendium, however, is useful to the student of Asiatic history. It was printed at Calcutta in 1836 A.D., at the press of Munshi Iradatu-llah, and the press was corrected by Maulavi Khadim Husain, a teacher in the Calcutta College.

The work is divided into fourteen Sections.

CONTENTS

The first eleven Sections contain, after the universal Eastern model, accounts of the Angels, Jinns, Prophets, Philosophers, Kings of Persia, Muhammad, his wives and battles, the Khalifs, Imams, the 'Ummayides, the 'Abbasides, and their contemporary Kings, and the Khans of the East and Turkistan, p. 1. Section twelfth relates to the successors of Timur, the Mahrattas, the Rulers of Oudh and Bengal, and the commencement of the British dominion in India, p. 334. Section thirteenth gives a description of the inhabited portion of the world, and its seven grand divisions, p. 376. Section fourteenth relates to the Hindus, the invasion of the Muhammadans, and the Royal families of India, and closes with a brief account of America, p. 391.

SIZE—4to., containing 410 pages of 27 lines each.

Establishment of British Supremacy, the Death of Nawab Siraju-d daula

The capricious and puerile conduct pursued by Siraju-d daula form time to time, such as planting guns

against the palace of Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan, placing Raja Dulabh Ram under the command of Mohan Lal, and threatening Jagat Seth that he would have him circumcised, actuated the latter and several other influential persons to enter into a confederacy against the Nawab. With the view, therefore, of overthrowing his power, Jagat Seth sent a message to the English, to the effect that, could they but agree to second the efforts of his party in attacking and overcoming Siraju-d daula, thousands of people would be rescued from his oppression and tyranny. Jagat Seth at the same time promised to present the English with the sum of three *krors* of rupees in the event of the successful issue of their operations. On the receipt of this message, the English, on the plea of the delay on the part of the Nawab to pay the amount of compensation due by him, prepared to take the field against him, with a body of two or three thousand troops. Siraju-d daula saw no alternative but to march from Murshidabad with his disaffected chiefs. The adverse parties met at Plassy, where the flames of war blazed on Thursday, the 5th of Shawwal, 1170 A.H. (23rd June, 1757 A.D.).

Mir Madan and Mohan Lal, advancing foremost, opened a galling fire from their guns. Just at this time a cannon-ball accidentally striking Mir Madan, he was left dead in the field of battle. This sad event altogether dispirited Siraju-d daula, who now entreated Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan and Muhammad Sadik Khan (*alias* Miran), in the most humiliating and abject terms, to do their utmost to preserve his life and honour, in consideration of the ties of relationship which subsisted between them, and on account of the many favours which he and his family had formerly bestowed on them. The Mir, thinking this a fair opportunity of deceiving him, and thus depriving him of his power, advised him to recall the troops in advance, especially as the day had come to a close, and to recommence hostilities on the following day.

Siraju-d daula, the victim of deceit, issue orders to

Mohan Lal, who was then engaged, to desist from fighting any longer that day. Mohan Lal remonstrated, remarking that if he were to withdraw the troops from the field, it would not be possible to concentrate them again. But the unfortunate Nawab persisting in his determination, Mohan Lal was obliged to cease fighting. Scarcely had he, however, left the field, when his troops fled, while the chiefs who were disaffected to the Nawab looked on with indifference. Siraju-d daula, seeing that all was lost, in great agitation of mind repaired to Mansur-ganj: here he placed Latifu-n Nissa, and several other females, on cars or litters, with such portions of precious stones and gold *muhars* as he thought could be safely conveyed in them. With these, and elephants laden with baggage, he quitted the place after midnight, and on arriving at Bhagwan-gola, he with his family embarked in boats, and went towards Patna.

After the retreat of Siraju-d daula, Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan remained one day at Plassy, and concluding a treaty with Colonel Clive and the other English officers, on his arrival at Mansur-ganj, he was placed on the *masnad*. On his accession to power, he caused to be engraved on his seal the titles of Shuja'u-l Mulk Hisamu-d daula Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan Bahadur Mahabat Jang; and in conjunction with Raja Dulabh Ram, he directed his attention to the settlement of the affairs of the State. He also ordered all the property of Siraju-d daula to be seized, and despatched his own son-in-law, Mir Muhammad Kasim Khan, in pursuit of Siraju-d daula.

The fugitive Nawab had about this time arrived opposite Rajmahal, where he disembarked, and put up at the dwelling of a *fakir* named Dana Shah. While Siraju-d daula was engaged in preparing his food, the *fakir* gave secret information to his pursuers, who seized the Nawab, together with his family, and brought them to Murshidabad on the 15th of Shawwal, on which date he was, by order of Mir Miran, put to death by the hands

of Muhammad Beg. Siraju-d daula was *Subadar* of Bengal for one year two months and twenty-seven days.

Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan and his son Miran, finding the time suited to their purpose, resigned themselves to a life of ease and pleasure, and ceased to pay tribute to the King. Mir Muhammad Ja'far also ceased giving alms. On being asked the reason of it, he said that while under Mahabat Jang ('Alivardi Khan) he felt no difficulty in spending money, it was like bestowing a little water from a river; but now that he himself was in possession of the whole property, he could not spare a penny even to a friend. Mir Ja'far Khan soon after imprisoned Ghasiti Begam and Amina Begam, daughters of Mahabat Jang ('Alivardi Khan), and the wife, daughter, and mother of Siraju-d daula, and sent them to Jahangir-nagar.

The impure Miran used without the least hesitation to commit murder. He Killed Khwaja Hadi 'Ali Khan and Mir Kazim Khan, and blew Sadakat Muhammad Khan Zamindar and Shaikh 'Abdu-l Wahab Kahbu from the mouth of a cannon. He murders many others, both men and women.

Miran was preparing to attack Khadim Husain Khan, nephew of Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan, who was at that time raising disturbances on the other side of 'Azimabad. Having conceived some suspicion of the two daughters of Mahabat Jang, he ordered them to be conveyed in a boat to the middle of the river, and to be there thrown overboard; in the meantime making the Begams believe that they were to go to Murshidabad. When Amina Begam and Ghasiti Begam were taken to the appointed place, they were informed of the cause of their being conveyed thither. The two sisters, after bathing and putting on clean clothes, cursed Miran, saying, "O God, we have done no harm to Miran, who, having brought ruin on our family, and deprived our brothers of their rights, is now about to put us to death. We pray that he may soon be struck dead by lighting for his cruel

deeds." Their prayer was heard; for Miran, after arriving in the vicinity of Hajipur, attacked Khadim Husain Khan, and after defeating him, pursued him; but during the pursuit, on Thursday night, the 19th Zi-l ka'da, in the year 1173 A.H. (4th July, 1760 A.D.), while it was raining , a thunderbolt descended and struck Miran and his servant dead.

Miran's remains were buried at Rajmahal. Mir Muhammad Ja'far Khan become insane after hearing of the death of his son, and this led to great disorder in the management of the State.

JAM-I JAM
OF
SAIYID AHMAD KHAN

"The Cup or Mirror of Jamshid," who is confounded by Eastern fabulists with Solomon.[1] This cup was found filled with the Elixir of Immortality, upon the occasion of digging the foundations of Persepolis, and as it mirrored the whole world, this expression, or some other allusive to it, is not uncommonly applied to works on history; and the *Jam-i Jahan-numa, i.e.* "the World-reflector," mentioned elsewhere is a title commonly bestowed upon the same magic mirror. Nizahi tells us that Alexander invented the steel mirror, by which it has been supposed allusion is made to the improve reflectors introduced by the Greeks.

The *Jam-i Jam* comprises tables of the Princes of the house of Timur, beinning with that Emperor; including also the Saiyid and Afghan Dynasties, and ending with Muhammad Bahadur Shah, the reigning King of Dehli at the time of publication; giving altogether forty-

[1] *See Rampoldi, Annali Musulmani, vol. ii. p.* 403, *and W. Thompson, Akhlak-i Jelaly, pp.* 37, 466. *The Haft Kulzum says it is more correct to consider the cup as the manufacture of Kai-Khusru.*

three reigns. The tables show the name of each King's father and mother, his tribe, date of birth, place of accession, period of reign, legend on coins, age at time of death, year of death, chronogram of death, honorific title after death, place of burial, and a very brief abstract of importance events.

These useful tables were lithographed at Agra, in the year 1840 A.D., and at the conclusion is given a list of several excellent authorities, from which the compiler drew his information, though it must be confessed that some doubt may reasonably be entertained whether these authorities were really appealed to, for a private correspondence which I have held with the author on the subject has failed to elicit any information with respect either to their contents or their present possessors. Indeed, some which are quoted contain nothing whatever calculated to elucidate the period he had under review.

The author is Munshi Saiyid Ahmad Khan, Munsif of Dehli, who has also written and lithographed at Dehli a very good description of the remarkable buildings of that capital, accompanied with lithographed representations of them. In the Preface to the *Jam-i Jam,* he gives his genealogy, and details the several honours acquired by his fathers. His ancestor in the ninth generation, who came originally from Hirat, was appointed *Subadar* of Bidar, which he takes care to inform us is equivalent in the English language to "Governor-General." Another was a *Kazi,* equivalent to "Sessions Judge." His maternal grandfather, Khwaja Faridu-d din Ahmad Khan, was sent to candole with the King of Persia when his ambassador, Haji Khalil Khan, was killed in an affray at Bombay. The same pride of ancestry is exhibited by his elder brother, Saiyid Muhammad Khan, in the Preface to the excellent copy of Jahangir's Autobiography collated by him; only, instead of construing *Subadar* to mean "Governor-General," he is content with the humbler definition of "Governor."

SIZE—Large 8vo.

MAJMA'U-L MULUK
AND
ZUBDATU-L GHARAIB
OF
MUHAMMAD RIZA

The author of these works is Muhammad Riza, son of Abu-l Nazim Hasani Husaini, who was honoured with the titles of Najmu-d daula Iftikharu-l Mulk Hisam Jang.

The author is a Saiyid of the Tibatiba family, which, after leaving Medina, went to reside at Isfahan, and remained for many generations employed in the Royal Record Office. In the time of Bahadur Shah his ancestor in the fifth generation came to Hindustan, and after being received with great kindness by that Emperor, entered the service of Nawab Burhanu-l Mulk Abu-l Mansur Safdar Jang, and ever since that his family have continued in the service of the Nawabs of Oudh.

His father was employed for some time in Bareilly, and subsequently became minister to the pageant King as Revenue Collector of Bareilly. After that district had been ceded to the Company, and after the death of his father, he became deputy steward of the household, and *darogha* of the treasury of the King of Dehli. When the provinces of Nagpur and Gondwana were under the management of the Company, he remained for several years employed in those provinces by the British Government; and being held in great respect by his superiors, he passed his time in great comfort and happiness, except when the reflection came over him, that he was far removed from his relatives, and, being surrounded by Sunnis and Kafirs, might run some risk of abandoning the Shi'a religion. At last, he returned to Lucknow, and has remained ever since without any public employ.

He gives us this account of himself in the Preface to the *Mafatihu-r Riasat*, and adds that his leisure was by no

means idly wasted, for he was not unobservant of the passing events of the day, and knowing that gold and jewels were fleeting possessions, and were not regarded in so precious a light as wisdom in the eyes of discerning patrons, he determined upon writing a work which would immortalize his name; and in furtherance of this resolve, he abstracted one hundred and fifty works, which treated of religion and history, and made use of these abstracts in the large work of which the present volume is a portion.

The entire work is called *Bahru-l Zakkhar,* "The Tempestuous Sea," and comprises the following volumes:—

I. *Mazahiru-l Adyan,* which treats of the different religions of the world, and chiefly of the Muhammadan faith, the Muhammadan Saints and Sects, Saiyid Ahmad, etc., comprised in 542 pages folio, containing 23 lines each. —II. *Manzaru-l 'Alam,* which treats of Astronomy and Geography, and is still incomplete for want of some philosophical instruments which the author is unable to procure. It is also called *Khurshid-i Lami',* "The Resplendent Sun," as the words contain the chronogram of the date 1261 A.H. (1845 A.D.). Its present size extends to 224 pages folio, of 20 lines each.—III. *Majma'u-l Muluk,* the subject of the present article.—IV. *Mafatihu-r Riasat.*—V. *Akhbarat-i Hind,* the subject of the succeeding article.—VI. *Naghma-i 'Andalib,* on the subject of poetry, music, Hindu and Persian, the rules of versification, and a biography of the Poets. A small folio volume of 300 pages, and 20 lines to a page.

This large work was commenced about the year 1260 A.D. (1844 A.D.). It may be considered the second edition of another work, which the industrious author composed in five volumes between the years 1816 and 1830, under the name of *Zubdatu-l Gharaib,*[1] "The Marrow of

[1] *In the chronogram which gives the date of* 1231 A.H. (1846 A.D.), *the author calls the work Zubda Gharaib, without the Arabic article.*

Marvels;" but it is strange that in the Preface to his later work he never alludes to the former one. Though it is not divided in the same way, he has fully availed himself in the *Bahru-l Zakkhar* of the matter contained in the *Zubdatu-l Gharaib*. That work is distributed in the following manner, but each volume has not a separate designation.

I. The first to the fifth Book give an account of the Creation, Jinus, early Prophets, Muhammad, the Khalifs and Imams; II. The sixth and seventh Books give an account of the early Kings of Persia, the 'Ummayides, 'Abbasides, Saljuks, Atabaks, and other independent Muhammadan Monarchies; III. The eighth Book, on the Hindus and the Sultans of Dehli, Gujarat, Malwa, the Dakhin, etc.; IV. The ninth Book, on the Timurian dynasty of Hindustan, and the establishment of British supremacy; V. The tenth Book, on the Philosophers, Poets, Saints, and literary characters.

The author, not satisfied with so much prose, has also indited poetry, and has assumed the poetical designation of *Najm* "a star," under which head he appropriates an article to himself in the biographical portions of these works. In that article we find that it is his intention some day or other to write his personal memoirs, and give an account of the celebrated characters with whom he has associated.

The *Majma-u-l Muluk* is not regularly divided into Chapters or Books.

CONTENTS

Preface, p. 1; On Eras and the Hindu Jugs and Rajas, p. 2; On the early Persian Dynasties and other Kings preceding Islam, p. 36; On the 'Ummayides, 'Abbasides and their branches, p. 128; On the Saffarians, Samanis, Isma'ilians, etc., p. 170; On the Turks, Saljuks, Atabaks, Afshars, Abdalis, etc., p. 232; On the Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Khiljis, Tughliks, and Afghans of Delhi, p. 250; On the Kings of Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat, the

Dakhin, etc., p. 288; On the Timurian Sovereigns of India, p. 360.

SIZE—Folio, containing 458 pages, with 26 lines to a page.

The transactions in this volume do not extend beyond the shortlived reign of Shah Jahan II., and are recorded in so abridged a form as to be of very little interest. Indeed, of both entire works, the *Bahru-l Zakkhar* and *Zubdatu-l Gharaib*, he says that "he has compressed his matter into so small a space, that it is like placing the ocean in the palm of the hand, or a desert within a span's length.

The *Majma'u-l Muluk* is at present very little known. My copy was obtained from the author direct.

AKHBARAT-I HIND
OF
MUHAMMAD RIZA

This volume is by the same author, and forms part of the *Bahr-i Zakkhar*. The words of the title form the date of the completion of the volume, viz. 1264 A.H. (1847-8 A.D.).

The work contains at the beginning some matter which is included in the *Majma'u-l Muluk*, but the greater part of the volume embraces much later period than that work extends to, for we have an account of the Sutlej campaigns, and our first entry into Lahore. Much of this latter portion is included in the fourth volume, the *Mafatihu-r Riasat*.

CONTENTS

Preface, p. 1; Hindu dates and religions, the boundaries of Hindustan, its subjection to the Kings of Iran, and the introduction of the Muhammadan religion into Hindustan, etc., p. 2; Ghaznivides, Ghorians, Khiljis, Tughliks, and Afghans of Dehli, p. 31; Kings of Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujarat, and the Dakhin, etc., p. 48; Timurian sovereigns of Dehli, down to 'Alamgir II., p. 68; Shah

'Alam, p. 125; Muhammad Akbar II., p. 173; English in India, p. 200; Nawabs of Oudh, p. 263; Afghans of Farrukhabad, p. 356; Rajputs and Jats, p. 374; Nizams of the Dakhin, Haidar 'Ali, Tipu Sultan, etc., p. 407; Mahrattas, p. 437; Sikhs and Bundelas, p. 485.

SIZE—Folio, containing 522 pages of 20 lines each.

Although this volume was so lately composed, the author seems to be again re-writing it, for in a letter with which he has favoured me, I find he is enlarging it, and has divided it into thirteen different Chapters. In his old age he seems to have preserved his literary energies unimpaired, and it is to be hoped that he has in the mean time studied to make himself better acquainted with matters of European politics and science, than he was when he indited his first edition.

EXTRACT

Governor-General Marquis Wellesley

This nobleman resembling Joseph in beauty and Suhrab in the field of battle, was lord of the country of generosity, and master of liberality and benevolence. The pen in writing his name turns to a sugar-cane in the hand of the composer, and the gale of the spring is rendered fragrant by his munificence. He received his instruction in England, from the brother of Lord Cornwallis. The laws of Hindustan were the chief object of his study. Some years before, he had been in the Dakhin, and rendered valuable services there. First, the French had acquired great power and influence in the country around Haidarabad, an account of which shall be given in the chapter which contains a history of that city; but this wise nobleman by his judicious measures expelled them thence in such a manner that they put down their arms, acknowledged their pusillanimity, and were driven out of the Asaf's (Nizam's) State. Instead of a French, an English army was employed, and a handsome annual contribution of upwards of thirty *lacs* was fixed for its maintenance by the government of Haidarabad.

After this, the army which was stationed in Madras, at the very time that an expedition was setting out against Tipu Sultan the son of Haidar Naik, espoused the interests of Tipu, such an enemy as the English never have had or will have to contend with in India. Wellesley, having settled affairs at Haiderabad, went to Madras, collected the English forces, and having animated and encouraged the troops, who were quite exhausted and dispirited, on account of having been engaged in warfare for twelve or fourteen years, and having given them hopes of obtaining plunder, prepared them to sell their lives. He thus destroyed the Sultan, took possession of Seringapatam and its fort, and obtained plunder to the amount of *krors* of rupees; among which there was a tent which was presented to the Nawab Wazir of Lucknow, and the like of which was never prepared even in that State.

In short, he adorned the chair of governorship in 1798 A.D. Every one felt satisfied and consoled, because he appreciated merit, and was a master of wisdom and the pen. As the Honourable Company was greatly in debt, no one would take the government paper at four per cent., so in his time it was raised to twelve per cent. The army was largely augmented by new levies. In his time, too. orders were given to the English presses to print books relating to the Hindu religion, such as the Ramayana, etc. The College of Fort William was founded, and every officer who landed from English ships in Hindustan was first taught in it the language of this country, and was admitted into the public service only after examination.

Next year the Governor-General demanded a contribution from the Nawab Wazir, and the territory which was possessed by him was divided equally between both the governments. Territory to the value of one *kror* and thirty-five *lacs* of rupees, which afterwards increased to an annual revenue of two *krors*, was added to the possessions of the British Government. The copy of the treaty, with

a full detail of it, will be given in the chapter on the Wazarat.

After the acquisition of these two territories, viz. that of Tipu and that ceded by the Nawab Wazir, which extended from Allahabad up to Farrukhabad, the English prepared themselves for the Mahratta campaign, and in 1803 A.D. a battle was fought with Sindhia and Holkar, an account of which shall be given in the history of the Peshwas and the Dakhini chiefs.

General Wellesley, the brother of the Governor-General, who commanded the Dakhin army, defeated the Mahrattas, and having placed Baji Rao Peshwa on the *masnad*, took a small portion of the territory of the Dakhin and half of Gujarat for the British Government. Afterwards, the English defeated the Bhonsla Mahrattas, and took some territory from them also. Then they conquered the entire provinces of Dehli and Agra, and repulsed the French army which was in the pay of the Mahrattas. They also gave a singal defeat to Har Nath, bondsman of Holkar, at Shah-Jahanabad.

General Gerard Lord Lake was appointed to command the army which was despatched towards the west. He achieved great conquests, an account of which has been given above, in the general history of the Empire. Battles were also fought with Amir Khan, and a large tract of country fell into the hands of the English in the districts of Kalpi and Banda. The Government then regulated the affairs of the King of Dehli; and an annual sum of fifteen *lacs* of rupees was sanctioned for His Majesty's expenses. After this, they made an arrangement for the temple of Jagnnath, which is a celebrated Hindu place of worship and pilgrimage in the district of Orissa; and assigned a small portion of the income derived from it to the Brahmins and guardians of the temple. They prohibited the custom of drowning children at Gangasagar.

In short, before the arrival of this Governor-General, the Honourable Company's territory did not exceed seven *krors* of rupees in revenue; but through the great

prosperity of this conquering noble, it increased to such an extent that it yielded an annual revenue of about fifteen *krors*.

The Regulation, according to which *tahsildars* were allowed to take one-tenth of the revenue realized through them remained in force for six years, and the doors of prosperity were opened upon the face of the world. Nothwithstanding that for the conquest of territory an expenditure of *krors* of rupees is necessary, yet the Court of Directors would not open their eyes to the necessity. They still thought that, as of old, their servants might reside in the country as merchants and aliens, without taking the whole of Hindustan into their grasp. They did not know that now, on every inch of land, enemies, who possessed large forces, such as the Mahrattas and the Pindaris, had arisen. They also did not do the Governor-General the justice to consider how much country he had conquered, and to what extent he had augmented the annual revenue of the Government. From want of information, they reproached him for the enormous expenses he had incurred in his undertakings. In the same manner as they had treated Colonel Clive and Governor Hastings, they brought groundless accusations against this Governor-General also. Lord Moira in England persisted more than any one else in his opposition. Consequently Lord Wellesely resigned the government and returned home. Lord Cornwallis was then a second time sent to Hindustan by the Court of Directors. He travelled as far as Ghazipur, and then expired. In short, the Marquis governed with full authority for a period of ten entire years, having gained thousands of thanks and praises in Hindustan.

MIFTAHU-T TAWARIKH
OF
THOMAS WILLIAM BEALE

THIS "Key of History" is a work highly creditable to the industry and ingenuity of the compiler, Thomas William Beale, a clerk in the office of the Board of Revenue at Agra.

He has collected in this volume the many chronogrammatic dates relating to important events in Asia, and especially in India, since the introduction of the Hijra era. In these are included the exact year and date of the births and deaths of Muhammadan kings, philosophers, and other eminent men. He has extracted them from the most celebrated histories in which they are carefully recorded, and he has copied the memorial inscriptions on tombs, mosques, gardens, tanks, forts and palaces. He has himself, as have also his friends, composed several new ones, which are inserted in the work. The Christian, Hindi, Fasli, Illahi and Jalali eras are also occasionally given.

Although, to a superficial observer, this mode of recording events may appear a veritable mataiotechnia, yet it is not without great use in any disputed point of chronology, for it does not admit of any errors, as in the case of numerals, since not only meaning, but in most instances rhyme and scansion, are required for a perfect comprehension of the dates. To them might we with justice transfer Joseph Scaliger's address to the venerable Olympiads: "Hail, ye guardians of time, ye vindicators of the truth of history, ye bridlers of the fanatical licence of chronologists!"

This kind of memoria technica was never in much use in Europe, although the Roman system of notation admits of it. In ancient literature it seems to have been altogether unknown, and even in modern times, when, in the middle of the sixteenth century, the taste for ana-

grammatic trifling was so strong, it was seldom applied to this more useful purpose.

The following instances will show to the European reader the use and application of a chronogram, by combining the numercial values attached to the capital letters according to the Roman system:—

gloria lausque Deo sæCLorVM in sæcVla sunto,

but this is a very lame instance, as some letters, which have a value assigned to them, are omitted from the computation.

A better example is to be found in the distich composed by Godart, on the birth of Louis XIV., in the year 1638, on a day wherein there happened to be a conjunction of the Eagle with the Lion's Heart:

eXorIens DeLphIn aqVILæ CorDIsqVe LeonIs
CongressV gaLLos spe LæItIaq Ve refeCIt.

In the Persian system, which is called *Jummal* (Addition), the letters of the alphabet have a numercial value assigned to them, according to a particular scale styled *Abjad*, because the first four units are represented by that word; *a* being equal to 1, *b* to 2, *j* to 3, *d* to 4. The sentence which contains the date should always be significant: the consequence is, that awkward methods are sometimes restored to in order to combine both sense and chronology.

There are four principal modes of using this scale. 1st. *Mutlak*, in which all the letters are requsite to the formation of the date. There is an inferior kind of *Mutlak*, in which only some of the letters of the text are used.

2nd. *Ta'miya-dakhili*, in which the numerical value of the letters used is less than the date required; in which case we are told that some other word or letter will complete the date.

3rd. *Ta'miya-khariji*, the contrary of the preceding, in which the numerical value is excessive, and we are therefore told that we must deduct some word or letter.

4th. *Taushik,* an acrostic, in which the initial or final letter of each verse composes the date.

All these kinds are illustrated in various parts of this work, and we many suppose that, under the licence granted in the second and third instances, some of them are very ill-constructed. Many however, exhibit, to say the least, great inventive faculty.

Take, for instance, the example elsewhere, where in thirtyone distichs the first line throughout represents the date of Akbar's accession, and the second line throughout represents the date of Jahangir's birth. Or take the following:

badshah wa har babar ba Kamal adal buwad waqif
ahsan-i alim musdar lutf alah sal jan u guzidan ja
bifirdush bigo jai firdaus abad biguzid babar badshah

This quartrain represents the death of Babar in eight different ways; each hemistich by itself represents the date: they therefore give the date four times. The fifth is obtained by combining the unpointed letters of the first hemistich with the pointed letters of the second hemistich. The sixth, by taking the unpointed letters of the second hemistich. The seventh, by taking the pointed letters of the second line, and the eighth, by combining the unpointed letters of the second line.

I have a chronogrammatical treatise in my possession which evinces even more labour than this. In it the events of Bengal in 1170 A.H. are related in prose, and each separate sentence gives the date of 1170, and the number of sentences amounts also to 1170. The narrative runs in so easy a flow that it would be difficult, without knowing it, to surmise that there was anything artificial about its construction.

There are other works of a similiar nature to this which have been written in India, such as the *Tarikh-nama,* and a few others with like names, but none so copious or so well arranged as this.

The *Miftahu-t Tawarikh* was lithographed at Agra in 1849. The outer margin very conveniently contains

a column, in which is inserted each date in numerals, and in regular chronological succession. It possesses other advantages, besides giving the mere dates. It gives short notices of each Asiatic dynasty, and a brief account of each reign, as well as several biographical notices of distinguished individuals who have shone in the politics and literature of the Muhammadan world.

The *Miftahu-t Twarikh* is divided into thirteen Sections, each representing a Century of the Hijra.

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Some of the most conspicuous Indian dynasties and reigns occur at the following pages:—Ghaznivide Dynasty, p. 51; Ghorian Dynasty, p. 79; Timur, p. 159; Sultans of Malwa, p. 185; Sultans of the Dakhin, p. 190; Sultans of Gujarat, p. 202; Babar, p. 215; Sher Shah, p. 226; Humayun, p. 237; Akbar, p. 245; Jahangir, p. 308; Shah-Jahan, p. 344; Aurangzeb. p. 394; Bahadur Shah, p. 446; Muhammad Shah, p. 459; Shah 'Alam, p. 516; Akbar II., p. 565.

Size—Quarto, containing 609 pages of 25 lines each.

THE HINDU KINGS OF KABUL

Abu Rihan al Biruni has the following statement respecting this dynasty in his lately discovered Arabic work, entitled *Tarikhu-l Hind*:—[1]

"Kabul was formerly governed by princes of Turk lineage. It is said that they were originally from Tibet. The first of them was named Barhtigin,. . . . and the

[[1]*The Fragments, Arabes et Persans, were published in* 1845; *and this note must have been written by Sir H. Elliot soon after.*]

kingdom continued with his children for sixty generations. . . . The last of them was a Katorman, and his minister was Kalar, a Brahman. This minister was favoured by fortune, and he found in the earth treasures which augmented his power. Fortune at the same time turned her back upon his master. The Katorman's thoughts and actions were evil, so that many complaints reached the minister, who loaded him with chains, and imprisoned him for his correction. In the end the minister yielded to the temptation of becoming sole master, and he had wealth sufficient to remove all obstacles. So he established himself on the throne. After him reigned the Brahman(s) Samand, then Kamlua, then Bhim, then Jaipal, then Anandpal, then Nardajanpal, who was killed in A.H. 412. His son, Bhimpal, succeeded him, after the lapse of five years, and under him the sovereignty of Hind became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth. These princes, notwithstanding the extent of their dominions, were endowed with excellent qualities, faithful to their engagements, and gracious towards their inferiors. The letter which Anandpal wrote to Amir Mahmud, at the time enmity existed between them, is much to be admired. 'I have heard that the Turks have invaded your dominions, and have spread over Khurasan; if you desire it, I will join you with 5,000 cavalry, 10,000 infantry, and 100 elephants, but if you prefer it, I will send my son with twice the number. In making this proposal, I do not wish to ingratiate myself with you. Though I have vanquished you, I do no desire that any one else but myself should obtain the ascendancy.' This prince was a determined enemy of the Musulmans from the time that his son, Nardajanpal, was taken prisoner; but his son was, on the contrary, well-disposed towards them."

The publication of this extract by M. Reinaud has excited considerable discussion, and has given rise to some ingenious remarks and comments by those interested in this period of history, in which we have a series of

names recorded, which add nearly a century to the barren annals of India previous to the Muhammadan conquest. A paper by E Thomas, of the Bengal Civil Service, published in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. IX. p. 177, is especially valuable, as in it he has endeavoured to trace the names of these particular kings upon a series of coins denominated Rajput, of the bull and horsemen type, and hitherto doubtfully ascribed to periods extending from A.D. 1000 to 1200. I shall avail myself freely of his remarks, though I am not prepared to coincide in his conclusions, for taking into consideration the difficulty of indentifying Hindi names in Arabic manuscripts in which ignorance and carelessness give rise to every imaginable kind of error, he has endeavoured to correct the Arabic from the unquestionable record of the coins themselves, which have hitherto existed without the ascription of a kingdom and a date, and "instead of applying coins to kings, to apply the kings to their own coins." It may easily be supposed that this principle gives too great a license to speculation, and it will appear in the sequel that very few of the attempted indentifications can be admitted without question.

Before we examine these names in detail, it will be necessary to make a few general remarks on the subject of these Truks, and especially respecting Kanak, the most celebrated of them.

First of all, it admits of great question what particular position in the series of Kabul Turkish kings this Kanak occupied. M. Reinaud both in his translation of Al Biruni in *Fragments Arabes*, and his *Memoirs sur l' Inde*, considers him to be the great Kanika or Kanishka of the Buddhists, and it is respecting this Kanak that the anecdote is related which will be found in this work, elsewhere. Thomas, trusting to translations or abstracts of Al Biruni, makes Kanak the last of the Turkish kings, and the immediate predecessor of the Brahmin Samand; but as the existence of the great Kanak who opposed the Rai of Kanauj is not to be disputed, he

must consider that the last of the Truks was a second Kanak.

This point requires further consideration, and we must consider what our several authorities say concerning it. The passage in the first line of the extract which I have translated thus, "The last of them was a Katorman," is in the original Arabic of Al Biruni—

wa Kana akhiruhum laktuzeman.

which M. Reinaud translates, "The last of them (the Turks) was Laktouzeman," which is certainly correct, provided the reading is admitted to be so; but Thomas, after examining various copies of the *Jami'u-t tawarikh* and *Binakiti*—the former of which is a translation, and the latter an abridgement of Al Biruni's account, finds great reason to dispute it, and leans altogether to another interpretation. He finds the following in an excellent Arabic version of the *Jami'*, in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society—

warajaa Kanak ila wilaitihi wa huwa akhiru muluki Katurman.

"and Kanak returned to his country, and he was the last of the Katorman kings."

The corresponding passage in the Persian *Jami'* in the British Museum is—

wa Kanak bilwilayai-i-khud maaudat kard wa akhirin badshahan Katurman bud.

Binakiti has the following—

wa bad az wa Kanak wa u akhirin badshahan Katurman bud.

"and after him was Kanak, and he was the last of the Katorman kings."

All the copies of *Binakiti* which I have seen concur in this reading, and of three several copies of the Persian *Jami'u-t tawarikh* which I have examined, two are in conformity with the extract given above, with the excep-

tion of reading Katoriyan for Katorman, and a third has—

bad az Basdeo az jumla maluk ishan yaki Kanak budch wa an akhirin badshahan Kiwarman budahast.

"after Basdeo from among their rulers (*i.e.*, of the Indians), one was Kanak, and he was the last of the Kayorman kings."

The omission of all notice of the Kabul Turkish dynasty, and the making Kanak succeed Basdeo, and the Brahmans succeed Kanak, without any notice or allusion to there being intermediate kings, is a clupable omission on the part of Rashidu-d din and Binakiti. The making Kanak the last of the Turkish dynasty does not seem authorized by the only original of Al Biruni's *Twarikhu-l Hind* which we possess, and Rashidu-d din must have had other copies or other works to have authorized him to make this statement. M. Reinaud (*Mem.* 30) considers that he has used some other work of Al Biruni's which has not come down to us, but this may reasonably be doubted.

M. Reinaud altogether ignores these readings of the manuscripts consulted by Thomas, and merely observes upon them, "On a vu ci-devant, que le vizir de Perse Raschid-eddin, avait, dans son Histoire des Mongols, mis a contribution un ecrit d'Albyrouny autre que celui-ci, et que ne nous est point parvenu. Malheureusement, les manuscripts de l'ouvrage de Raschid-ed din different entre eux: au lieu de *Laktouzeman,* ils portent *Katourman,* et on ne distingue pas bien s'il s'agit la d'un prince ou d'un pays." Notwithstanding this, I have been given to understand by those who have seen the original manuscript of the *Twarikhu-l Hind,* that even that bears a closer resemblance to *Katourman* than *Laktouzeman.*[2]

[2][*The name occurs only twice in Reinaud's printed extract. In the first instance, it is given as quoted above, but in the second it is "Lakturzaman." See Fragments, p.* 135.]

Taking all circumstances into consideration, I am disposed to get rid of the name of Laktouzeman from the *Tarikhu-l Hind*, and to substitute for it, by two slight changes in the original, al Katorman, which represents the name of a tribe, or prince of that tribe, as well as the name of the country in which that tribe resided. I have therefore translated the disputed line, "The last of them was a Katorman."

Let us now enter upon some of the considerations which this name suggests.

The Katormans, or Kators, have hitherto been better known to modern than ancient history. We are informed that it was the name of one of the tribes of Kafiristan[3], and that the ruler of Chitral to this day bears the title of Shah Kator,[4] and I have heard the same designation given to the chief of Gilgit. The country of Kator is also spoken of by Sadik Isfahani, as being the country of the Siyahposhes, or black-vested, on the borders of Kabul.[5]

These Kators boast still of their Grecian lineage, and their claim to this honour is by no means, as many have supposed, of modern origin, attributable to our own enquiries after the descendants of the followers of the Macedonian conqueror.[6]

We find at the period of Timur's invasion of India, the Katorians making themselves conspicuous for their opposition to that monarch. After leaving Inderab he entered their difficult country by way of Khawah,

[3] *Elphinstone's "Kabul," vol. ii. pp.* 376, 387.

[4] *Brune's Bokhara, vol. ii. pp.* 209; *and Journal A. S. Bengal, vol. vii. p.* 331.

[5] *Takwimu-l-buldan, p.* 127.

[6] [*For other references to the Kators, see Thomas's Prinsep, I.* 314. *Lassen, Ind. Alt. III.* 890, 1176. *Masson's Narrative, I.* 193. *Vigne, Ghazni, etc., p.* 235. *Trumpp, in Journ. R. A. S. xix.* 1. *Jour. des sav. Vol. V.*, 1855, *where M. Viv. de St. Martin attempts to indentify them with the Cadrusii of Pliny VI. xxiii.*]

and after an expedition of eighteen days reduced them to submission. As we thus have proof that this country and people were called by the name of Kator at so early a period, it seems probable that the Kators whom we read of in Abu-l Fazal Baihaki are no other than the descendants of the dynasty we have been considering, and that the Ghaznivide sovereigns organized them among their troops, as we know from the *Tarikh-i Yamini* that Mahmud was in the practice of doing with conquered nations, as exemplified in his treatment of the Khiljis, Afghans, and Indians. It is evident from the extracts given in this work from the *Tabakat-i Akbari* and the *Tarikh-i Mas'udi,* that a body of Kator troops was kept in pay, and that the Tilak mentioned therein was the commander of these foreign troops, which were rated as Indian, he being in one passage spoken of as commander of the Indians, in another of the Kator troops. It opens a very interesting subject of investigation to enquire if these Kators have no memorials of themselves in India. The indentity of name and the period of the establishment of the Kators in Kumaun appear to render it probable that we have in them the descendants of those Kators who fought under the banners of the first Muhammadan conquerors.

A curious coincidence of names seems worth noticing in this place. It will be observed that Al Biruni makes the Turk kings of Kabul come from the mountains of Tibet, and Grecian and Chinese authors concur in saying that in the first years of the Christian era the valley of the Indus and some of the neighbouring countries were occupied by a race from Tartary. Ptolemy, Dionysius, and the author of the Periplus of the Erythrean Sea, give to the country watered by the Lower Indus the name of Indo-Scythia, and Ptolemy applies the same name to a country at the bottom of the Gulf of Cambay. The Chinese writers inform us that a people of Tatar race named Yue-chi or Yue-tchi crossed the Hindu-kush, and established themselves in Afghanistan.

Fa-Hian speaks of these barbarians having occupied, long before his visit to India, the province of Peshawar.

De Guignes has informed us, after Chinese authors, that the nomade race of Yue-tchi, being driven about the year 160 before Christ from its original seat in the western provinces of China, by another race called Hioung-non, established themselves in Transoxiana, and spread over the countries in that neighbourhood. Abel-Remusat and Klaproth have also furnished us with further particulars from the same sources. We learn that the Yue-tchi took part in the struggle which took place between the Greek princes of Bactria and the Arsacidan monarchs of Persia, and that they contributed to the downfall of the former. A few years before Christ, the Yue-tchi chief, named Khieou-tsieou-hy, after subjugating the other independent rulers of his own tribe, proclaimed himself king, and conquered the countries situated between the Oxus, Hindu-kush and Little Tibet. His successor, Yan-kao-tchin, penetrated as far as India.

Some time after, the monarch of the Yue-tchi, whom the Chinese call Ki-to-lo, which Klaproth has converted into Ghidor, descended to the south of the Hindu-kush "in following the valley of the Indus" (?), and invaded India on the north. Among other regions he reduced the province of Peshwar; but being himself compelled to return westward, left the government of the conquered country to his son.[7] M. Reinaud is of opinion[8] that it is to this Ki-to-lo that Fa-Hian alludes, when he says, "Formerly the king of the Yue-tchi, levied a powerful army, and came to attack the country he was anxious to obtain."

The conquerors, who remained in the valley of

[7] *Nouveaux Melanges Asiatiques. Tom. i. p.* 223. *Laidlay's Translation of Fa-Hian. Foe-koue-ki, p.* 81. *Tableaux Historiques d' l' Asie. p.* 134.

[8] *Memoire sur l' Inde, p.* 83, *from which work the preceeding abstract of Yue-tchi history is taken.*

Kabul, received the name of the "Little Yue-tchi," while the mass of the nation was designated the "Great Yue-tchi." In these Little Yue-tchi we have the ancestors of our modern Jats, a subject which I may, perhaps, discuss at further length hereafter.

It is impossible not to be struck here with the coincidence of the name of Ki-to-lo with Kitor or Kator, the *l* and the *r* being as usual convertible. Here we seem to have the origin of the name Kitor, the establishment of a prince of that name between Kabul and the Hindu-kush, on the very site of the modern Kafiristan, or land of Siyah-poshes and the country of Kitor, according to the authorities given above. It is probable that we are to look to one of his descendants for the Katorman, who was the last of the Turkish dynasty; and these united considerations have combined to induce me to adopt the readings to which I have given the preference above.

It is to be observed that Al Biruni asserts the Turkish dynasty of Kabul to have lasted for sixty generations; but we are not to suppose that the crown continued in the same family or tribe, but that they were members of the great Turkish stem of nations, which conveys no more definite notion than the Scythians of the ancients, or the Tartars of the moderns. There may have been Turks of other tribes who ruled in the kingdom, who, whether Sakas, Turushkas, Duraris, Yue-tchis, or Kators, would still be classed under the generic designation of Turks, as the last of the Turks appears to have reigned about A.D. 850. If we allow fourteen years as the average duration of their reigns, we shall find the period of the conquest occurring about the first year of the era of Our Saviour; and if we allow sixteen years as the average duration, we shall exactly bring it to the period of the downfall of the Greco-Bactrian Empire in 125 before Christ.

Here, then, there is reason to suppose that the first monarch of the Turkish dynasty must have been the subverter of the Grecian Empire in the East. He is

called by Al Biruni "Barhtigin;" *tigin* being a common Turkish affix, signifying "the brave," as Alp-tigin, Subuk-tigin. M. Reinaud conjectures that Barh or Barha answers, probably, to the word *pharahatassa,* which Lassen and Wilson have read on certain Greco-Barbarian coins, and to be the same name which the Greeks have converted into Phraates and Phraoites.[9] Al Biruni informs us that the names of these princes were recorded on a piece of silk, which was found in the fort of Nagarkot, when it was taken by the Muhammadans; but that circumstances prevented his fulfilling his anxious desire to examine it.

Al Biruni mentions that Kanak was of the number of these kings, and that he founded the Vihar, or Buddhist monastery at Pashawar, called after his name even in Al Biruni's time, and which, probably, occupied the site of the present conspicuous building, called the Gor-khattri, at the eastern entrance of that town. The romantic anecdote which he relates of him, and which, probably, has little foundation in truth, will be found among the extracts translated from the *Tarikhu-l Hind,* published elsewhere.

M. Reinaud considers this Kanak to have reigned a little prior to the commencement or our era, and to be the same as the Kanika or Nika of Fa-Hian; the Kanishka of Hiuen-thsang and the Rajatarangini and the Kanerkes of the Greco-Barbarian coins; and General A. Cunningham has formed the same opinion independently with reference to the two first identifications, considering the same monarch to be the Kanika of the Chinese, and the Kanaksen from whom many Rajput families trace their lineage.[10]

According to Hiuen-thsang, Kanika or Kanishka reigned over the whole valley of Kabul, the province of

[9]*Memoire sur l' Inde, p.* 73.

[10]*Mem. sur l' Inde, p.* 73; *Thomas' Prinsep, Index "Kanishka;" Jour. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. xxiii.*

Peshwar, the Panjab, and Kashmir. He crossed the Hindu-kush and Himalaya, and subjected Tukharistan and little Tibet. He received the title of the Lord of Jambu-dwipa, which is equivalent to "The Paramount of all India." He was a long time a stranger to the dogmas of Buddhism, and despised the law; until, by chance, he was converted to that faith, and became one of its most zealous disciples and promoters.

The same Chinese author states that he rigned four hundred years after the death of Buddha, which, as it occurred 544 years before our era, would bring it to more than a century before Christ; but as he expresses his dates in round numbers, we cannot rely much upon his precision. We may with more probablity look for it a century later, if, at least, he be the same as Kanerkes, for among the coins and other objects bearing his name, which were found in the tope of Manikyala, and which would appear to indicate that that monument was constructed under the reign of that prince, certain Roman medals were also found of the period of Octavius and Antony extending to as low as 33 B.C.[11]

The Yue-tchi evidently established themselves in Kabul subsequent to the reign of Kanishka, and probably not long after, for Fa-Hian, about the year 400 A.D., speaks of their occupation of that valley, as if it were a transaction of no recent date. If we assign to Ki-to-lo the date of A.D. 200, we shall have nearly seven hundred years from the first to the last of the Katorman dynasty, during which, probably, other families and other tribes may have intermediately occupied the throne, without entirely subverting the right of the Yue-tchi conquerors of the valley.

The statement of Al Biruni, respecting the occupation of Kabul by the Turks, is in strict conformity with Biladuri and Tabari, and with the brief notices which the

[11] *M. Raoul-Rochette, Journal des Savants, ann.* 1836, *p.* 70. [*Thomas' Prinsep. I.* 150, *and Index, v. Manikyala.*]

other early Arabic historians and geographers have given us respecting that city. They couple it, however, with the curious announcement of an occupation divided between the dominant Turks and subject Hindus. E. Thomas has considered this subject at considerable length in another excellent paper by him, on the Coins of the Ghaznivides.[12]

The first in order is Mas'udi, who visited the valley of the Indus in 303 A.H. = 915 A.D. He says nothing of the political and religious revolution which we have been considering, by which Brahmans had been substituted for Buddhist Turks. On the contrary, he designates the prince who reigned at Kabul by the same title as he held when the Arabs penetrated for the first time into those regions.

Istahkri, who wrote within six years after Mas'udi travelled in India, says:

wa Kabilu laha qahanduz mausufun bittahassuni wa ilaihi tariqun wa ahadun wa fihal-muslimuna wa laha arribzu bihal Kuffari minal hindi.

"Kabul has a castle celebrated for its strength, accessible only by one road. In it there are Musulmans, and it has a town, in which are infidels from Hind."

Ibn Haukal began his travels in 331 A.H. = 942 A.D., and wrote an account of them thirty-five years later. He follows his predecessor implicitly in the main points, but respecting the occupants of the town, the Bodleian copy varies from the Lucknow one, which bears the name of *Ashkalu-l Bilad*. In the former, "Hindu infidels" is converted into "Infidels and Jews." The latter reads:—

wa laisa fi hizihil mudni allati fi nawahiya Balakh aktharu malan wa tajaratam min ghazniti wa anha farzatal hindi wa Kabul laha qilatun hasinuhu wa ilaihi tariqun wa ahadun fihal muslimuna wa laha ribzun bihal Kuffari minal hunudi.

[12] *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ix. p.* 267.

The statement of Al Biruni, in his *Kanun-i Ma'sudi,* written less than a century after this, is:

qilatu Kabul mustaqarru mulukihim al atraki Kanu thummal barahima.

Here there is no specification respecting the different occupancy of the castle and town, but nothing to impugn the correctness of what is asserted by Istakhri and Ibn Haukal. There is no occasion to quote any of the later geographers, who add nothing to our information, and are careless as well as confused in their statements.

Before concluding this subject of the Turkish occupation of Kabul, the statement of Ibn Khallikan should be noticed, who states in his article on "Ya'kub bin Lais," that Kabul, in the times of that prince, was inhabited by a Turkish race who appertained to a tribe called *Durari.* This name is new, and the assertion would authorise us to conclude that in his time the Turks were still predominant, though that fact would scarcely seem consistent with what we shall have to advance under *Kamlua.* It is possible that the term Durari may have connection with Darra, a hill pass, and that allusion may be to the country to the north of Kabul, just in the same way as in modern times the inhabitants of those same tracts are styled in Kabul "Kohistanis," or hill-men.

It does not appear when the city was either first or finally subdued by the Muhammadans. It is evident, however, that the first inroads were not followed by permanent occupation, and that there was no entire subversion of the native dynasty till the Ghaznivide dynasty rose to power.

The first invasion we read of was in the time of 'Abdu-llah, governor of 'Irak, on the part of the Khalif 'Usman. He was directed by the Khalif to send an emissary to explore the provinces of Hind; and notwithstanding a discouraging report, 'Abdu-llah ordered the country of Sijistan to be invaded by one of his cousins, 'Abdu-r Rahman, son of Samra. 'Abdu-r Rahman advanced to the city of Zaranj, and besieged the Marzaban,

or Persian governor, in his palace, on the festival of the 'Id. The governor solicited peace, and submitted to pay a tribute of two millions of dirhams and two thousand slaves. After that, 'Abdu-r Rahman subdued the country between Zaranj and Kish, which was then styled Indian territory, and the tract between Ar-Rukhaj (Arachosia) and the province of Dawar—in which latter country he attacked the idolaters in the mountain of Zur, who sued for peace; and though he had with him 8,000 men, the booty acquired during this incursion was so great, that each man received four thousand pieces of silver as his share. Their idol of Zur was of gold, and its eyes were two rubies. The zealous Musulmans cut off its hand and plucked out its eyes, and then remarked to the Marzaban how powerless was his idol "to do either good or evil." In the same expedition, Bust was taken. After this, 'Abdu-r Rahman advanced to Zabul, and afterwards, in the time of Mu'awiya, to Kabul.[13] The year in which this inroad was made is not mentioned, but as 'Abd-ulla was removed from his government in 36 A.H., we may consider it to have taken place about the year 35.

In the year 44 A.H. Muhallab ibn Abu Sufra, whose army chiefly consisted of the tribe of Azd, which was very powerful in Khurasan, and contributed largely to

[13] *Biladuri, quoted in Memoire, p.* 173, *and in Geschichten der Chalifen, vol. i. Anhang, p. x. Tarjuma-i Futuhat of Ahmad bin 'Asmi Kufi.*—[*I have found two Persian extracts from the Futuhat of Ahmad among the papers. They are short and important, so I give translations.*—ED.]

Conquest of Sijistan by 'Abdu-r Rahman Samrat under the Khalif 'Usman.—*'Abdu-llah, son of 'Amir, wrote for his nephew on the father's side, 'Abdu-r Rahman Samrat bin Jandab bin 'Abd Shamsh bin 'Abd Sinaf, and having fitted out an army for him, sent him to Sijistan. 'Abdu-r Rahman led his forces to Zaranj. The people of the*

the downfall of the Ummayides—advanced on the Indian frontier as far as Banna (Banu) and Alahwaz [or "Alahwar" = Lahore?] two places situated between Kabul and Multan. Firishta makes him penetrate as far as Multan, and opens his history by saying he was the first chieftain who spread the banners of the true faith on the plains of Hind. He says he plundered the country and brought back to the head-quarters of the army at Khurasan many prisoners who were compelled to become converts to the faith. Muhallab had been detached from the main army which had invaded Kabul from Merv, under 'Abdu-r Rahman bin Shimar, and had made converts of twelve thousand persons. Muhallab sub-

city offered battle, and a fierce fight ensued between the opposing parties. The city was taken, and the Musulmans obtained great spoil, carrying off many captives from Sijistan, and incalculable wealth. 'Abdu-r Rahman then marched to subdue Kabul.

Conquest of Kabul.—When 'Abdu-r Rahman came in sight of Kabul, the ruler of the place (Kabul Shah), who was lame, was in the city. He came out and fought several engagements with the Musulmans, but retreated into the city, and came forth no more. 'Abdu-r Rahman besieged it, and remained seated before it, fighting with the garrison for a whole year. He and his soldiers had to endure many hardships during the siege, but at length they carried the place by assault; and when they entered it, they put the fighting men to the sword, and made the women and children prisoners. Kabul Shah was taken captive, and brought before 'Abdu-r Rahman; but when he was ordered to be beheaded he turned Muhammadan, and repeated the creed. 'Abdu-r Rahman treated him with honour and kindness. The plunder and the captives which had been taken in Kabul, Zaranj, and Sijistan, was collected, and fifth portion was set apart and sent to 'Abdu-llah bin 'Amir, with a report of the conquest of Sijistan and Kabul.

sequently made himself conspicuous as governor of Alahwar, and exterminator of the Azrakian insurgents, and as a traitor to his master, 'Abdu-llah ibn Zubair, the Khalif of Mecca. He was the ancestor of those chiefs, who, under the name of Muhallabis, often occur in the history of the later members of the Ummaya family, until they were nearly exterminated at Kandabil in 101 H.[14] Gildemeister doubts the truth of this expedition, as Sijistan had not yet been conquered; but he forgets that the Musulmans did not penetrate to India through Sijistan, but through Kabul.

In Biladuri's account of this interesting expedition, there is a curious relation which must not be altogether omitted. He informs us that in the country of Kikan, Muhallab encountered eighteen Turks, mounted on horses with their tails cut. As they were all killed fighting, Muhallab attributed the activity and valour of "the barbarians" to the fact of their horses' tails being cut. "Upon which he ordered his own horses' tails to be docked; and he was the first amongst the Musulmans who adopted the practice."[15]

About the same time, 'Abbad, the son of Ziyad, made an incursion on the frontier of India, by way of Sijistan. He went through Rudbar to the Hindmand (Helmand), and after staying at Kish, he crossed the desert, and reached Kandahar. Although the country was conquered, many Musulmans lost their lives in this expedition.[16]

Biladuri informs us that under the Khilafat of

[14] *Erpenii Elmacin Historia Saracenica, ann.* 101.

[15] *Biladuri, see Vol. i. p.* 116. *Briggs, Firishta, vol. i. p.* 4. *The Chinese authorities seem to allude to this expedition. Memoires concernant les Chinois, Tom. xv.* 474. *See also Tom. xvi. p.* 372-5. *Hammer, Gemaldesaal der Lebensbeschreibungen, vol. ii. p.* 9.

[16] *Biladuri, ut supra. Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, vol. i. p.* 292.

Mu'awiya, 'Abdu-r Rahman, son of Samrah, penetrated to the city of Kabul, and obtained possession of it after a month's siege. He conquered also the circumjacent countries, especially Ar-Rukhaj (Arachosia). The king of Kabul made an appeal to the warriors of India, and the Musulmans were driven out of Kabul. He recovered all the other conquered countries, and advanced as far as Bust, but on the approach of another Musulman army, he submitted, and engaged to pay an annual tribute.[17]

The Kabulis subsequently profited by the contests which distracted the Khilafat, and the tribute was withheld; but in 64 A.H. = 683-4 A.D. 'Abdu-l 'aziz, the governor of Sistan, declared war against the king of Kabul, and in the combat which took place, that king was defeated and killed. The war continued under his successor, and he was compelled to submit to the payment of tribute, but whenever opportunity offered, renewed efforts were made by the Kabulis to recover their lost independence.[18]

Amongst the earliest attempts against Kabul may be noticed that of 'Abdu-llah, governor of Sistan, in 78 A.H. = 697-8 A.D., or according to some, in the following year. When he arrived at Nimroz, Hajjaj desired him not to linger in Sistan, but to march without delay towards Kabul to enforce the payment of the tribute from Ranbal, to which that chief had agreed; and ordered him peremptorily not to return until he had subjugated the whole province. Ranbal retiring before his assailant, detached troops to their rear and blocking up the defiles, entirely intercepted their retreat, and in this situation exposed to the danger of perishing by famine, 'Abdu-llah was compelled to purchase the liberation of himself and followers for a ransom of seven hundred thousand dirhams.[19]

[17] *Memoire sur l' Inde, p.* 179.
[18] *Memoire sur l' Inde, p.* 178.
[19] *Tarikh-i-Alfi, Ann.* 68, *p.m. Muhammad. See the*

To wipe out the disgrace which the Muhammadan arms had sustained, 'Abdu-r Rahman bin Muhammad bin Asha's, was despatched to Kabul by the famous Hajjaj in 81 A.H. = 700-1 A.D.; [20] or in the preceding year, according to some authors, he was sent at the head of forty thousand men into Sistan, and having there united to his own troops the troops of the province, marched without delay against the prince of Kabul. 'Abdu-r Rahman returned to Sistan laden with booty, but incurred the displeasure of Hajjaj by not remaining to secure his conquest. Exasperated by a threat of supersession, he determined to carry his arms against his master, and, in order to strengthen his power, concluded a treaty with the enemies of his faith, in which it was stipulated that if his expedition should be attended with success, Ranbal should be absolved from every species of tribute, provided the latter should agree to afford him an asylum in the event of failure. After many vicissitudes of fortune, 'Abdu-r Rahman was at last compelled to seek the protection of his ally, who, after treating him for some time with kindness and hospitality, was at last seduced by the promises or by the threats of Hajjaj to deliver up his guest. 'Abdu-r Rahman frustrated the vindictive designs of his enemy by throwing himself down from a precipice while he was on his way—A.H. 84.[21]

The interest which this contest excited throughout the Khilafat seems to have invested the Prince of Kabul with a fictitious celebrity, insomuch that he is the hero of many Arab stories of the holy wars on the frontiers of Hind. Nevertheless there is no certainty as to the proper mode of spelling the name. The various readings

extracts from that work in another volume of this compilation. Price's Mahommedan Hist., Vol. i. p. 454.

[20] *Mem. sur l' Inde, p.* 179; *Weil, Geschichte der Chalifen, Tom. I. p.* 449; *Ockley's History of the Saracens.* [82 A.H.] *Bohn's Edit. p.* 490.

[21] *Price's Mahommedan History, Vol. i. pp.* 455-463.

of the European authors who have noticed him show how little the orthography is settled. Ockley[22] calls him "Zentil;" Weil,[23] "Zenbil;" Reinaud,[24] "Ratbyl" and "Zenbyl." Wilson,[25] "Rateil, Ratpeil, Ratbal, Rantal, Zantil—variations easily accounted for by the nature of the Persian letters." E. Thomas,[26] "Ratpil;" Price,[27] "Reteil," "Ratteil," or "Retpeil."[28]

Price observes that the name bespeaks him to be either a Tartar or Hindu, and that the real name might perhaps have been Vittel. still common among the Hindus. Wilson considers it as a genuine Indian appellation; Ratna-pala or Rutun-pal.[29]

Mas'udi, in his chapter in the *Muruj,* which is consecrated to the kings of Syria, makes mention of a prince who reigned in the valley of the Indus, and who after having subjugated Eastern Persia, advanced to the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates. The name of this prince was Ranbal, under one of its various modifications, and he adds that the name formed in his time the designa-

[22]*History of the Saracens, Bohn's Edit., p.* 490.
[23]*Geschichte der Chalifen, i. pp.* 449, 461.
[24]*Memoire sur l' Inde, pp.* 71, 72, *and* 178.
[25]*Ariana Antiqua, p.* 133.
[26]*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. xii. p.* 344.
[27]*Retrospect of Mahommedan History, Vol. i., pp.* 454-5.
[28][*The Mujmalu-t Tawarikh (Paris MS. p.* 274), says:

wa badshahan-i zamin Kabil wa sind ra Ratbil goyand.

"The kings of Kabul and Sind are called Ratbil." Ibn Khurdadba (Oxford MS. p. 26), *has malik-i Samarqand turkhan Sakstan Ratbil which M. Barbier de Meynard (Journ, Asiatique,* 1865, *p.* 251), *renders "Le roi de Sistan Rotbil." Mas'udi (Paris Ed. ii. p.* 87), *has "Zenbil qui est reste commun jusqu' a se jour." The various readings of the Jami'u-l Hikayat have been noticed elsewhere.*
[29]*Ariana Ant. p.* 133.

tion of the indigenous princes of the country, and he calls the Buddhist princes of Kabul by this epithet, which he makes common to all. In this he is borne out by Tabari, and M. Reinaud is induced therefore to consider the word significative.[30] But it is not improbable that this assertion arises from the ignorance of the Muhammadans, and that they were ready to apply all the stories relating to the border chiefs of India to that one who had obtained the greatest notoriety with historians by his transactions with the generals of the Khilafat, just as the *Hadika Sanai* speaks of Jaipal being the king of India in the time of Bahram, and Hatifi speaks of Rai Pithaura as the same even in the time of Timur.

The *Jami'u-l Hikayat* ascribes the name to a contemporary of Ya'kub Lais, which would make him one hundred and sixty years later than the invader of Syria, a long time for a title to have remained attached to a succession of petty chiefs. Moreover, at one time we find him ruler in Sind, at another in Kabul, though at the period spoken of those countries were not united under one dominion.

Khaki Shirazi says:—"In the year twenty-two the province of Sijistan was conquered for 'Umar-bin Khattab, by the hands of 'Amru bin al Tamimi; and in the same year Makran was subdued by Abdu-llah bin 'Abdu-llah Anan, who marched against it from Kirman. The ruler of that province, whose name in the language of the country was Zambil, was also ruler of Sind, and was killed."

In the opening of the history of Mas'ud the Ghaznivide, by Abu-l Fazl Baihaki, reference is made to the Palace of Ranbal, where it certainly seems to apply to an individual rather than a class.[31]

[30] *Mem. sur l' Inde, p.* 178.

[31] [*Tabari, the Mujmal, and Mas'udi are all clear as to the import of the name, and its use as a dynastic royal*

The Ranbal of whom we have been speaking as the opponent, ally, protector, and betrayer of 'Abdu-r Rahman, must have been one of the Turkish dynasty of Kabul, of the Buddhist persuation. We find, from the Arabic histories of the period, that some of his relatives still held dominion in Transoxiana, though the relationship was probably rather that of tribe than family. If the family had been Hindu rather than Turkish, Ran-bal, "strong in battle," would have been sufficiently significative to render that the most likely reading of this disputed name. The probable prevalence, however, of the language of the Hindus in these parts might still have encouraged the use of the terms, notwithstanding that the Brahmans had not yet attained their supremacy.

In 107 A.H. = 725-6 A.D., under the Khilafat of Hasham, part of the dominions of Kabul was taken, but the capture of the town itself is not noticed.[32]

The lieutenants of the Khalifs Al Mahdi and Ar Rashid took tribute from the Ranbal of Sijistan, proportioned to the strength or weakness of that prince, and named governors to the countries where Islam prevailed —A.H. 158-193 = A.D. 775-809. When Al Mamun was made governor of Khurasan, he demanded double tribute. He took Kabul, and the king submitted, and professed Islam. An agent on the part of Mamun resided in that city, and a post was established which enabled Al Mamun to procure from it fresh myrobalans.[33]

After this we read nothing of Kabul till the time of Saffarides—A.H. 256 = A.D. 868-9.[34] In the succeeding

title. Weil says it is "a general name for the king of the Turkomans, but more especially for the prince of Kabul and the territories between Hirat and Kabul.—Geschichte, p. 449."]

[32]*Gladwin's Ayin Akberi, Vol. ii. p.* 209. *Price's Mahommedan History, Vol. i, p.* 567.

[33]*Biladuri, quoted in the Mem. sur. l' Inde, p.* 196-7.

[34]*Historia priorum regum Persarum, etc., p.* 19.

year[35] Ya'kub Lais took Kabul, and made its prince a prisoner. The king of Ar Rukhaj was put to death, and its inhabitants forced to embrace Islam. Ya'kub returned to his capital loaded with booty, and carrying with him the heads of three kings; and many statues of Indian divinities, which were amongst the booty, were sent to Baghdad for presentation to the Khalif.[36]

This Muhammadan conquest appears to have been more durable than the preceding ones, for we find coins of Ya'kub struck at Panjshir, to the north-east of Kabul, in the years 260 and 261 H.*

By referring to the passages given above from the geographers, we shall learn the state of the occupancy of Kabul from the time of the Saffarides to that of the Ghaznivides, which commenced as early as the time of Alptigin, according to the statement of Abu-l Fazl, and it is probably to his time that the story related by Al-Biruni refers, where he states that when the *Espehbed*, or general-in-chief, had the gates of Kabul opened to him, the inhabitants imposed upon him the condition not to eat cow's flesh or indulge in unnatural crimes.[37] Neither condition is strictly observed by the modern occupants.

We will now proceed to examine more particularly

TURKS.	Samand.
Barhtigin.	Kamlu.
Kanak.	Bhim.
Katorman.	Jaipal I.
. . . .	Anandpal.
BRAHMANS.	Jaipal II.
Kalar.	Bhimpal.
	. . . .

[35] *Tabakat-i Nasiri.*

[36] *Ibn Asir, Kitabu-l fihrist, and Ibn Khallikan, quoted in Mem. sur l' Inde. p.* 209.

*Frœhn *Summarische Uebersicht, etc., and Bulletin de l' Academie, Tom. x. p.* 81.

[37] *Memoire sur l' Inde, p.* 246.

the attempted identification of the several names of this series of Kabul kings:

Barhtigin has been already sufficiently remarked upon.

Kanak—Katorman.—Both these names have also been the subject of extended remarks. It will be observed that all the authorities quoted above from the original, make Kanak the last of the Turks, excepting only the *Tarikhu-l Hind,* which makes him only one, and the most famous one of the middle series of the Turkish kings for sixty generations. Allowing that Kanak is Kanishka, for which ample ground has already been advanced, this becomes impossible, and we must fall back upon the better authority of the *Tarikhu-l Hind,* and consider the Katorman or Laktuzaman as the last. In the more modern narratives of Rashidu-d din and Binakiti we must place a full stop after "Kanak returned to his country." Then proceed, "the last of the kings was the Katorman." This requires no violent alternation of the text. Indeed the mere omission of *hu* from the Arabic, and *u* from the Persian reconciles everything, and this last omission is actually made in the British Museum MS.

The writers themselves knew little of the state of the case, and wished merely to translate Al Biruni, who knew well enough what he was writing. For instance, Binakiti wishing to reduce the narrative of the *Jami'*, makes it appear that Ujen was the predecessor of Kanak. Haidar Razi, again, among the names of the illustrious kings of India who succeeded Basdeo (here meant not for him of Kanauj, but the great Krishna) mentions Arjun and Jasand (the former being manifestly the famous hero of the *Maha-bharata,* and the latter Jarasandha), and "after him came Kanak, Chand." This, thorough indifference to correct chronology, enables us to see that by Ujen is meant Arjun, the senior of Kanak by several centuries. Thomas is persuaded that to this Kanak, the last of the Turks, are to be ascribed the coins which bear the name of Sri Vanka Deva "of the elephant-and-lion type

of coin, which preceded the bull-and-horseman money introduced by the Brahmans. The similitude of names and the needful correspondence of all available evidence are surely sufficient to authorise our indicating Vanka Deva'' as the Kanak above mentioned. This is by no means admissible, and he has himself since found that the real reading on the coin is "Varka," and has, consequently, altogether abandoned this speculation.[38]

Kalar "is, we have little doubt, the Syalapati of our coins. There is less difference in sound between Syala and Kalar than would at first be imagined; so that if our translator, Al Biruni, wrote his Arabic version from oral tradition, this slight change in the initial pronunciation of the name would be fairly probable." This is carrying speculation to an extreme, and there is no warrant whatever for the presumed identification.

It is to be observed that the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* and its followers omit all notice of Kalar, making Samand the immediate successor of Kanak.

The Syala or Syal-pati (*Potis* in Greek), of whom so many coins are found in Afghanistan, was probably a leader, and, perhaps, even the progenitor of the Syal Jats of Jhang Syal and other localities in the Panjab.

Samand.—Coins of Samanta, or Samanta Deva, are

[38][*Thomas, who might naturally desire to reply to these early criticisms on his confessedly initiatory essay on the coins in question, agrees with me in thinking that Sir H. Elliot's text should be preserved intact in the present publication, without comment or controversy on his part. This kind of knowledge is happily progressive, and many valid advances may be admitted to have been made between the theories of* 1847 *and* 1868, *without compromising the original author, or his censor of days gone by. Many of the objections here advanced have already been answered, in anticipation, by Thomas, in his edition of Prinsep's Essays* (*London,* 1858), *an extract from which will be found elsewhere.*]

found in great profusion not only in Afghanistan, but throughout the Panjab and the whole of Northern India, and one has even been found in the province of Posen.[39] Thomas is of opinion that this is owing to his having called in the coins of his Buddhist predecessors, in order to give prevalence to his own creed of Brahmanism by the substitution of the bull-and-horseman type for that of the elephant-and-lion, which is considered emblematic of Buddhism;[40] but this supposition seems defeated by the fact of our finding Samanta coins with the elephant also upon them. The name of this reviver of the old faith became so celebrated, that we find it upon the coins of his successors, extending even down to the Muhammadan conquest of Dehli, in 1192 A.D., and the coins of Rai Pithaura.

Professor Wilson attributed these coins to a Rajput prince, who lived many years afterwards. M. Reinaud never hesitated to recognize in these medals the name of the king of Kabul, and his opinion was confirmed by the examination which M. Adrien de Longperier made of them.[41]

It may be considered presumption to oppose such an array of authority in favour of this identification, but, nevertheless, I hesitate to concur in it without more cogent arguments than those that have yet been adduced. Putting aside the improbability that one man's name should be stamped on a series of coins, extending through more than two centuries, sometimes in supersession, and sometimes in conjunction with, that of the reigning monarch—and that, too, even in the case of the later Ghaznivides—there seems so obvious a solution of this continuance of a single name, that it requires far less

[39] *M. Longperier in "Fragments Arabes et Persans," p.* 223.

[40] *Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ix. p.* 181.

[41] *Memoire sur l' Inde, p.* 212. *Journal Asiatique, Feb.* 1845, *p.* 192, *and Fragments Arabes et Persans, p.* 219.

boldness to adopt this simple explanation, than to seek grounds for establishing a position which, from its many improbabilities, is always open to question. It may, perhaps, be admitted that the coins which bear the simple name of Sri Samant Deva are to be referred to the Samand of Abu Rihan; but even that admission is open to objection, there being a double mis-spelling in the name, for in the former we have a short *a* instead of a broad one, and a *t* instead of a *d*.[12]

It appears to me, then, that Samanta, whenever it is found with another name, is throughout merely a title, meaning the warrior, the hero, the *preux chevalier*, the leader of an army, the Amir; and that after being used concurrently with Sri Hamir on the later Ghaznivide coins, it was by the early Ghorian monarchs altogether displaced by that more appropriate title.

At this latter period the prevalence of the title of Samant is obvious from its frequent use by the bard Chand, who has celebrated the exploits of Rai Pithaura, and his three hundred Samants, or stalwart knights.

Kamlua.—Thomas wishes to appropriate to this monarch a medal bearing the legend of *Khvadavayaka* or *Khedavayaka*, while he confesses that even to liberal ears these names are not quite accordant in sound. He then seeks to justify the appropriation by mutations, bolts, or intermixture of letters.[13] We must reject this, it being not worthy of the least credit; and the discovery of the name of Kamlua in another history sets the question at rest, and establishes the correctness of Al Biruni.

This discovery is in other respects important, as enabling us to fix a synchronism by which we may conjecture the periods of the other monarches of this dynasty. In one of the stories translated from the *Jami'u-l Hikayat*, it will be found that he was a con-

[12] [*Longperier reads the name with a long a—Samanta. See Fragments Arabes et Persans*, 221-223.]

[13] *Jour. R. A. S., ix. p.* 180.

temporary of 'Amru Lais, who reigned between 265-287 A.H. = 878-900 A.D. Kamlua is there called the Rai of Hindustan, and he must have ruled sometime within this period.

If we admit that these names represent a continuous series of successive monarchs, and not rather those who alone were conspicuous, we shall have to place the commencement of Kamlua's reign as late as possible within the twenty-two years above-named. For we must connect it with another synchronism which we obtain from the same *Jami'u-l Hikayat*, wherein we learn that Mahmud was only fourteen years old when the defeat of Jaipal occurred near the miraculous fountain, which—as he died in A.H. 421,[44] when he was sixty-three years old—reduces that date to 372 A.H., or 982-3 A.D., fifteen years before the death of Subuktigin.

Jaipal died in 1002 A.D., and it is evident from the statement in the *Tarikh-i Yamini*, that he was then a very old man. He had opposed Subuktigin, while yet that warrior was only general of Alptigin, and therefore before 976 A.D., making his reign at least a quarter of a century. If we assume that Kamlua's reign commenced in 890 A.D., being about the middle of that of 'Amru Lais, we shall have to divide the period extending from 890 to 1002 A.D., between the reigns of Kamlua, Bhim and Jaipal, being an average of thirty-seven years for each, which seems much too long. But as there is no disputing the dates, we must admit the long duration of 112 years for only three reigns, or admit that the names of unimportant monarches have been omitted; just as in the case of the Turkish series, of which only Kanak is mentioned, between the first and last of the dynasty.

In the same way, between Kalar and Samand, and Samand and Gamlua—there may have been other omis-

[44] *April*, 1030. *See the inscription on his tomb in Thornton's Gazetteer of the Countries adjacent to India, vol. i. p.* 200, [*and Journ. R. A. S., xvii. p.* 161.]

sions, and even long interregna of Muhammadan supremacy; and we may thus throw back the period of the Brahmanical revolution to an earlier date than has yet been conjectured. It must be confessed this would relieve us of some difficulties, and enable us to dispose of other names of this series, of which we have incidental notice elsewhere: as, for instance, in the *Sairu-l Muluk*, where we meet with the name of Lomak.

Syala, Khedavayaka, Varka, and even Ranbal may have been individuals of the Kabul series, either Turk or Hindu, though not honoured with distinct mention by Abu Rihan. Numismatists, indeed, are now so certain that these coins do belong to the Kabul series, and trace with such confidence the relative antiquity of each extant medal from the difference in devices and execution, that we may readily concede the point to such able and experienced enquirers. All that is required is that there should be no unnatural forcing to suit pre-conceived theories.

Thomas has conjectured on other grounds that the accession of Samand occurred in 935 A.D.[45] but his computation does not rest on any such specific dates as the two mentioned above, and he considers that, under any circumstances, it is imperfect, and that "the utmost the materials at our command enable us to assert with any degree of certainty is that Syala's usurpation took place early in the tenth century;" but even this certainty is dispelled by the establishment of the fact that Kamlua was, unquestionably, a contemporary of 'Amru Lais. Altogether, we may consider the subversion of the Turk by the Brahman dynasty to have occurred about 850 A.D., shortly before its capture by Ya'kub Lais; and as it appears from the Arab geographers that Musulmans held the castle, it is evident that the Brahmans were only occasionally dominant, and did not hold their power without long and frequent interruptions.

[45] *Journal Royal Asiatic Society, vol. ix. p.* 179.

Bhim.—The coins of Bhim are found in Kabulistan, but are seldom, if ever, met with in India. There is no reason to doubt that this is the same Bhim as the Sri Bhim Deva of the bull-and-horseman series, and this is the only one of which the identification can be admitted without question.

M. Reinaud considers that this Bhim is the one mentioned by 'Utbi and Firishta as the founder of Nagarkot;[46] but there is more reason to believe the hero of the *Maha-bharata* to be the one indicated.

Jaipal I.—It is strange that no coins of Jaipal are found. Firishta calls him the son of Ishtpal,[47] and distinctly avers that he was a Brahman, and Biruni also includes him in that dynasty; but the introduction of the term Pal, which is now continued to the close of the dynasty, might incline us to suppose that a new family had commenced. This seems in other respects not improbable, for in the opening of the *Tarikh-i Yamini* we find Jaipal's western border extended no further than Lamghan, Kabul being already in possession of Subuktigin. It seems probable, therefore, that the succession of the real Kabul sovereigns ceased with Bhim, and that the king of Northern India succeeded to the paramount sovereignty which, as far as the Muhammadans were concerned, had hitherto been held by the ruler of Kabul. It is a mistake to suppose that Jaipal was king of Dehli. It does not appear that any such place existed in his time, and Abu-l Fida's determination of its latitude and longitude on the authority of the *Kanun-i Mas'udi* is a misquotation, which it is of importance to correct, for there is nowhere mention of Dehli either in that work or in the *Tarikhu-l Hind*. The principal places of his residence appear to have been Lahore, Bhera, and Waihind; and it may be doubted

[46] *Memoire sur l' Inde, p.* 257.

[47] [*Briggs' translation says "Hutpal," but the lithographed text has "Ishtpal."*]

if any of these places, except perhaps the last, had been held by the kings of Kabul.

The assertion that he was a Brahman probably arises from ignorance on the part of Firishta. Al Biruni is not specific in his statement that he was a Brahman, but merely includes him in the dynasty which commenced with a Brahman, and he may no more have been really of that caste than were the Bahmani sovereigns of the Dekhin, though they were called after one. The term Brahman, in the conception of a Musulman, might merely imply that he maintained the doctrines of that faith, and from his position was its staunchest defender and champion. There seems ground to suppose he must have been a Rajput, and some reasons have been assigned in the note on Mahmud's invasion for considering him a Bhatti.

Anandpal.—Thomas observes[48] that the coins of Anandpal are common, and are plentiful in the Panjab and the northern parts of the Ganges Duab. But these are evidently to be referred to the monarch of Dehli, who lived a century and a half later, and we have to deal with Anandpal not Anangpal. 'Utbi calls him Andpal.

Jaipal II.—This is not the name given by Al Biruni, where it appears more like Tardijanbal, and in the other authors who mention him it goes through various forms. Tadan Jaipal, Nanduwa Jaipal, Turu Jaipal, Parou Jaipal, Nardajanpala, Niranjanpal, Tasdar Jaipal, and many more. The latest reading proposed by M. Reinaud is Trilochan Pal, after the "three-eyed" Siva. Persian authors generally call him Nabira Jaipal, or the grandson of Jaipal, and in that relationship no doubt he stood to the first Jaipal. Hence Dow calls him "Pitterugepal." The real name was, perhaps, Pur Jaipal, or Jaipal junior, Jaipal the son or grandson. Al Biruni

[48] *Jour. R. A. S., ix. p.* 121 [*and later, Prinsep's Essays, i.* 330.]

tells us that his father Anandpal was an inveterate enemy of the Musulmans from the time that Pur Jaipal was taken prisoner, but Pur Jaipal himself was well disposed towards them.

According to 'Utbi we find him holding dominion as far eastward as Kanauj and the Rahib, respecting which the note on the ninth and twelfth expeditions of Mahmud may be consulted. The same author mentions another son of Anandpal, by the name of Brahman Pal, who is probably a different one.

Abu Rihan informs us that he was killed in 412 A.H. = 1021-2 A.D. It does not appear exactly when he began to reign, but he certainly opposed Mahmud during the Kanauj campaign in 409 A.H.

Bhim Pal.—In him we have the last of the dynasty of Kabul and Nothern India. As he is mentioned by Abu Rihan, he must have succeeded to some remnant of his father's domains; but it does not appear that in his time he contested the advance of the Muhammadans, though before he ascended the throne we find him taking an active part in defending his father's dominions, under the name of Nidar Bhim, "Bhim the Dauntless."

From his letter to Chand Rai, which is recorded by 'Utbi, it would appear that he was inclined to peaceful counsels, and that bitter experience had taught him the hopelessness of contending with his relentless and sanguinary rivals.

From a statement in the *Tarikhu-l Hind*, we may infer that his capital was Bari, to the east of Kanauj.

Neither of Bhim Pal, nor of any other of the Pal family, are any coins extant.

Bhim Pal survived his father five years, and died, therefore, in 417 A.H., the eventful year of the capture and plunder of Somnat. Haidar Razi gives nine years as the period of his reign.

Extract of Thomas' Edition of Prinsep's Essays, (1858. *Vol. I. p.* 331), *referred to in Tarikhu-l Hind.*

"Before I leave the subject, I may be permitted to make some observations in reference to an original suggestion of my own, that the Sri Hamirah, on the reverse of the immediately succeeding Moslem coins, was designed to convey the title of the spiritual representative of the Arabian Prophet on earth, embodied for the time being in the Khalif of Baghdad. Sir H. M. Elliot, placing himself under the guidance of Capt. Cunningham, has contested this inference. I am not only prepared to concede the fact that Muhammad bin Sam uses this term in connection with his own name on the lower Kanauj coins, but I can supply further independent evidence, that my opponents could not then cite against me, in the association of this title with the name of the early Sultans of Dehli in the Palam Inscription (1333 Vikramaditya); but, on the other hand, I can claim a still more definite support in an item of testimony contributed by the consecutive suite of the selfsame fabric of coins, where the *hamirah* is replaced by the word *Khalifa.* As far as I have yet been able to ascertain, this transition *first* takes place on the money of 'Alau-d din Mas'ud (639-644 A.H.); and here, again, I can afford, in all frankness, to cite further data that may eventually bear against myself, in recording that this reverse of *Sri Khalifa* is combined in other cases with a broken obverse legend of. . . *Ameeralim* which, being, interpreted to stand for the *Amiru-l Muminin* of the Arabic system, may either he accepted as the Sanskrit counterpart legend of Altamsh's anonymous coins in the Persian character,[1] or be converted into a possible argument against my theory, if supposed to represent the independent spiritual supremacy claimed

[1] *Pathan Sultans of Dehli, by Ed. Thomas. London, Wertheimer,* 1847; *p.* 17.

by subsequent Sultans of Dehli; which last assignment, however, will scarcely carry weight in the present state of our knowledge. As regards the difficulty raised respecting the conventional acceptance of the *Sri Samanta Deva* of the coins as an historical, rather than an individually titular, impress, I have always beeu fully prepared to recognize the lingustic value of the word *Samanta*, and yet claim to retain the *Sri Samanta Deva*—which comes down to us, in numismatic sequence, in the place of honour on so many mint issues—as an independent name or title, to which some special prestige attached, rather than to look upon it as an ordinary prefix to the designation of each potentate on whose money it appears. And such a decision, in parallel appossition to the succession of the titles of of *Sri Hamira* and *Khalifa*, just noticed, would seem to be strikingly confirmed by the replacement of this same legend of *Sri Samanta Deva* on the local coins of Chahad Deva, by the style and title of the Moslem suzerain, to whom that raja had eventually to concede allegiance.

The two classes of coins to which I allude may, for the moment, be exemplified, the one in the type given in 'Ariana Antiqua,' xix. 16; the other in pl. xxvi. fig. 31, Vol. i. (*Prinsep*).

The former, when corrected up and amplified from more perfect specimens, will be found to bear the legends: OBV. *Asahari Sri Samanta Deb* REV. *Sri Chahad Deb* while the later will be seen to display an obverse epigraph of Asabari Sri Samsoral Deba with a reverse similar to the last.

I understand this obverse legend to convey, in imperfect orthography, the name of Shamsu-d din Altamsh—whose other coins, of but little varied type, have a similarly outlined name. with the Moslem *Sri Hamirah* on the reverse.

THE END